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Zhivkov Paper on Intelligentsia Restructuring

AU280601 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Apr 88 pp 1-3

["Reflections of Comrade Todor Zhivkov," general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council: "Some Problems and Tasks Related to Restructuring in the Intellectual Sphere," submitted to the BCP Central Committee Politburo "approved by the Politburo in Protocol No. 41 of 27 April 1988"—boldface passages as published]

[Text] Comrades; as you know, in the near future the Politburo is expected to deal with basic trends of restructuring in the intellectual sphere, following which we are expected to hold a special session of the BCP Central Committee.

Preparations for this restructuring process are underway. In accordance with the July plenum concept and with the decisions adopted at the November Plenum of the BCP Central Committee and at the BCP National Conference, the Commission of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat on Intellectual and Ideological Issues, along with the respective state organs, is engaged in developing materials and holding discussions with a broad circle of workers from the spheres of science, culture, arts, and education.

—The fact that we are only now engaging in a detailed discussion about these issues does not mean that we underestimated the intellectual sphere in the past. The economy is the basis of our socialist development, and it was natural that we began with this.

Following the 13th BCP Congress which mapped out the strategic line of qualitatively new growth, a series of measures were outlined and implemented in the intellectual sphere. Regardless of this, the restructuring of our total intellectual sphere is pressing and any delay in this respect is no longer admissible.

Despite the fact that, in the future, we will further deal with restructuring in the intellectual sphere as a whole, I think that there are urgent questions that should not be postponed in view of the current situation, and in view of the preparations for the forthcoming BCP Central Committee Plenum.

1. I would like to recall our basic principle: If we fail to carry out restructuring in the intellectual sphere, we will create insurmountable obstacles along the path of restructuring in our whole society.

—Restructuring in the intellectual sphere is of crucial importance and not only for its development under the new conditions.

—This is a restructuring process with a much broader scope than usual, with overall importance for all spheres of activities, for our entire social life.

—This is a restructuring process which directly concerns our intelligentsia.

The question of the party's approach to the intelligentsia is part of the great political issue pertaining to the social basis and the motive forces of restructuring.

The party's approach to the intelligentsia is well-known. The basic principles on which this approach is built are not subject to discussion. These principles were confirmed by practical experience.

—From the very first days of the party's existence, our intelligentsia was vitally connected with the party, and vice-versa, the party was vitally connected with the intelligentsia.

—It is a well-known fact that the Bulgarian intelligentsia accepted and adopted the cause of socialism with selfless devotion and enthusiasm as its own cause.

—As the main factor in one the decisive spheres of life—namely intellectual life—the intelligentsia is the focus of our attention and care. The party has always relied on our intelligentsia.

As always in the past, our intelligentsia today is the strike force of our development.

—All units of the intelligentsia—scientists, creative artists, engineers, teachers, physicians, journalists, and others—occupy important posts and are influencing the implementation of the current changes in economic, social, and cultural life, as well as in the spheres of management and self-management, in accordance with the July plenum concept.

These are the main and decisive factors in the sociopolitical position of our intelligentsia.

I would like to stress the following in particular: We cannot imagine the revolutionary restructuring of our society without the intelligentsia, and we cannot assume that it will ever play a role of secondary importance in this process.

—The same applies to the participation of the intelligentsia, of its organizations, associations, and individual figures in restructuring the intellectual sphere itself.

2. **What are the chief and decisive factors in the approach to restructuring in the intellectual sphere?**

—We base ourselves on the fact that **the general principles** laid down in the July plenum concept should also be consistently implemented in the intellectual sphere.

—These principles conform with the **new realities** that exist in our country and in the world, and meet the **challenges** with which contemporary science, technology, and culture confront us.

Along with this, restructuring must be coordinated with the **specific principles** which are valid for the intellectual sphere in general, and with science, arts, and education in particular.

As we know, following the April plenum we adopted basically new decisions which liberated and contributed to the democratization of the intellectual sphere, provided opportunities for the expansion of new approaches in uniting and further developing all our intelligentsia, and so forth.

—A number of these decisions and approaches must now be reanalyzed. While preserving their rational values, we must proceed further, because different conditions and requirements have emerged today, and the intelligentsia itself has changed.

—This applies, for example, to the state and state-social principle which "is being perceived" on the basis of a new principle, namely the self-management principle.

—New solutions are also envisaged in view of the integration between science, culture, and education.

—New forms of organization will be adopted, for example, as regards scientific labor, the work of architects, and so forth.

The goal is to establish conditions to guarantee the optimal development of creative efforts and opportunities for the intellectual sphere and for those engaged in it, and to increase their contribution to the country's material and intellectual development.

In implementing the restructuring process, we are creating a new system of material and intellectual incentives, we are eliminating everything which subjects the evaluation of creative work and its social meaning to bureaucratic criteria.

—This is the reason why we abolished the honorary titles "Meritorious" and "People's Artist".

Someone may ask: "How and on the basis of which criteria will the contribution of creative artists to the national cultural treasury be appreciated from now on, and how will we determine the place of every creative artist in the nation's cultural life?"

Yes; this question is completely justified.

However, I would like to ask, in turn:

—How, and on the basis of which criteria did the **people** determine the place of **Botev's poetry** in our national culture?

—How and why did **Ivan Vazov** become our national poet?

—According to which criteria was Ilya Beshkov recognized as one of the greatest exponents of our figurative art?

—Was Pancho Vladigerov a "People's Artist" when he composed his Vardar Rhapsody in 1928?

—What should we say about **Khristo Smirnenski and Nikola Vaptsarov**, about dozens of other creative artists from Bulgarian culture?

Of course, you understand that I am not talking about the **material security** of a creative artist and about the forms through which he will be recognized.

—However, I am not convinced that such recognition requires decrees signed by the chairman of the State Council.

—Nowadays, however, the artists themselves submit proposals for their own awards, organize their own celebrations, arrange the issue of their own anniversary publications, and so forth.

Things should be reversed—**those for whom one creates should be appreciated more** since we all know that the achievements of creative art should be devoted to the people and that the final evaluation of them comes from the people.

—Naturally, this does not mean vulgarization and the denial of professional criteria in arts; it does not mean that we should underrate the role of creative associations in the evaluation of creative arts. In addition to this, we should by no means underestimate the judgment of time and of the coming generations.

In the final account, deeds and only deeds remain alive in history.

—I also became "Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria" three times.

—Will people tomorrow remember me for the three stars on my lapel?

We must apply a different yardstick to all these things. Precisely this is the problem.

This should be one of the basic principles of restructuring in the intellectual sphere.

3. The BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers have long since devoted intense efforts to the development of a model for organization and leadership in the intellectual sphere.

What is the basic aspect of this complicated question in the field of the arts, for example?

The basic aspect is the requirement to begin "from the bottom", from the places where millions of working people live and work, to begin by taking care to make culture accessible to every home, district, village, town, and to the self-managing communities.

—It is unfortunate that today everything is being transferred to the "top", that we have to ask for everything at the "top."

—This is one more opportunity to apply Lenin's postulate that centralization should be restricted to the "minimum." The remaining problems, 70 to 80 percent of them, for example, should be dealt with at the "bottom."

It is necessary to concentrate our attention on the following issues:

—How to turn the organization of intellectual life into an **organic part** of our **civic [grazhdansko] society;**

—How to organize intellectual life in the **municipalities** and **self-managing organizations** on the basis of **broad amateur artistic activity** on the part of the citizens.

Obviously, appropriate **councils** or **commissions** must be created in the municipalities and oblasts.

—As far as **science, culture, and education** are concerned, the organization of these must be restructured on the basis of self-management **by creating self-managing organizations.**

—From this point of view, the new Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education must be an organ with a minimal apparatus, which will be in charge of **conducting the state policy.**

All this is necessary in order to ensure conditions in which **the self-managing organizations function vigorously in the spheres of science, culture, and education.**

—These organizations must have great rights and, simultaneously, appropriate obligations and responsibilities. They must turn into full-fledged managers of the **intellectual property.**

We must assess the character of the **creative and scientific unions** from similar positions. Naturally, they will continue to exist, but will undergo restructuring.

—It is necessary to take into consideration once again the problems related to the **self-fulfillment of the cadres in intellectual life** and especially the **young cadres.** In this we are facing the task of creating organizational mechanisms and economic preconditions, and, what is most important, an appopriate climate of developing and using the intellectual energy of all cadres.

—We are also facing the problem of the **artificial inflation** of some units and the **unjustifiable use of the people's means** in order to maintain them.

—In future we must also continue **to open up our intellectual life to world culture and science,** a process which began after the April plenum.

The main thing is to create an atmosphere of a creative upsurge, responsibility, and care for the high level of each intellectual activity and its effectiveness. There is a pressing necessity to create several uniform, integrated intellectual unions. Thus, we shall respond to the processes of cooperation and integration of science, culture, and education and the need to maintain contact among the various units of the intelligentsia.

4. It is necessary to conduct these processes together with our intelligentsia and with its active participation in discussing and resolving the issues.

—The Central Committee, Politburo, and Secretariat developed their own sty'e in this respect. In the past we have always discussed new issues together.

—We have striven to solve them proceeding from fundamental party positions and in the interest of creativity in science and the arts.

Now the party position cannot be different.

—More specifically, it is necessary to consistently untie the "knots" which have been created in the intellectual sphere, despite the tastes and interests of some people who are tied up with the obsolete factors.

—We cannot adapt the principles to certain subjective notions and selfish interests.

It is inadmissible to **favor** weak or mediocre people in science and arts, and to promote them to the leaderships of the units of the intellectual sphere, an unfortunate phenomenon which has been observed recently. It is no secret that some people skillfully use their posts to **acquire personal benefits and invalidate party principles and premises.**

It must be understood that restructuring the intellectual sphere will be a complicated process.

—We shall come up against obsolete stereotypical ways of thinking and organizing, and of material and intellectual stimulation.

—However, there is no doubt that the intelligentsia will support us, because what we are doing follows the lines of our common concern for further intellectual development and for the revealing of broad horizons for every talent.

5. I shall dwell on two additional issues in the context of restructuring—the issues of glasnost and amateur artistic associations.

The fundamental position of our party on the issue of glasnost is clear and categorical.

Glasnost is a powerful means of conducting the new political course and a powerful stimulus for the active participation of millions of people in restructuring socialist society. I mean:

—The **public expression of everything** we undertake and encounter;

—the **timely** informing of the people;

—**Removing** the anonymous character of criticism;

—Publicizing the **truth** about our life and our successes and difficulties in constructing socialism.

Since we are not speaking about glasnost in general terms but about glasnost under the present conditions, we must take into consideration **certain specific characteristics of our development.**

Many of the problems on which the attention of the public is now focused in some socialist countries were solved in our country after the April 1956 Plenum.

—The mechanical transferral of certain elements from other countries gave rise to incorrect notions about the essence of the restructuring taking place in individual socialist countries.

—This is precisely what happened to some representatives of the intelligentsia.

We all are following the restructuring in the USSR with great interest. We are broadly popularizing and will further popularize its theory and practice. This is understandable.

—It is our tradition to popularize the USSR's experience and the problems and achievements of the great Soviet state. We are now acting in the same manner.

—However, recently some of our newspapers have not essentially reflected the renewal processes in Soviet society, and have instead given priority to materials, especially materials which deal with historical subjects, which some Bulgarian readers view as sensational.

Our attitude toward restructuring in the USSR after the 27th CPSU Congress and our assessment of its historical importance for our country, too, are well known. As I have repeatedly stressed, at the meeting I had with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in October 1987 we stressed the fundamental coincidence of the goals, tasks, and directions of restructuring in Bulgaria and the USSR, naturally noting the specific characteristics which this process has and must have in our two countries, and which have been caused by the specific conditions.

One of the specific characteristics of our development is the fact that at the April plenum and immediately afterward we already fully clarified our attitude toward the personality cult and the fundamental directions of our economic and social development.

—We eliminated once and for all the atmosphere of suspicion, fear, and the persecution of people because of their civic standpoint.

—We completely rehabilitated those figures who had suffered during the period of the personality cult.

—In our country there is no issue related to the personality cult that is a taboo area for research and artistic creation.

—Furthermore, the issue of not allowing the recurrence of the personality cult has been repeatedly discussed since the April plenum, including at the July 1987 Central Committee Plenum.

—Along with everything else, the Politburo decision on the attributes of power was dictated by the necessity to remove such recurrences. The work which has begun in this area will continue.

Long ago we overcame the prejudice that we must refrain from criticism and self-criticism because our enemies could use this to slander the socialist system.

—Our party has repeatedly made a critical and self-critical analysis of its work, and has spoken not only about the weaknesses in our society, but also about its deformations.

The very Concept on Further Constructing Socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which we adopted at the July plenum, is a manifestation of bold and pitiless criticism.

—In that concept we posed a number of "uncomfortable" questions, which began with the word "why?"

—Why is it that, for the ordinary worker, state property has turned into anonymous property, nobody's property?

—Why have some organs of the government alienated themselves from the people? Other questions were also asked. We are dissociating ourselves from the previous models, from both their achievements and weaknesses.

Therefore if, by glasnost, we understand only our attitude toward difficult moments in the past or toward our evaluation of the past periods of socialist construction, we could produce a no more radical assessment of the past than the admission that the April model has exhausted its possibilities.

Under these circumstances a question legitimately emerges, namely, what must be our notion of glasnost itself and of its role in our public life?

As already pointed out, **the premises and decisions of the July plenum are our criteria.**

The manner in which we acted up to the July plenum and everything which has been covered by the mass media were, generally speaking, correct.

—It was correct to clobber [boy po] the weaknesses and difficulties.

It was also correct to appeal for the overcoming of these weaknesses and difficulties.

Now that we have a concept of a profound and comprehensive restructuring **the main thing is to implement it.**

—We must be guided by new elements, which we are implementing with the July concept. It is from the July position that we will struggle to assert these new elements.

Glasnost means placing all organs of management, without exception, under the control of society.

—Therefore, for us glasnost means listening to the voice of the people. The workers must not only be the "main heroes" about which people speak and write, but they themselves must speak and write about things as they see and feel them.

Glasnost means boldly dealing with the problems of restructuring and subjecting them to a critical examination from fundamental positions.

—This means, primarily, providing full and reliable information about the entire complexity of this process and its contradictions. We shall decisively advance by overcoming these contradictions.

—We are in favor of subjecting the July Concept and its principles to a broad discussion. This will be of great benefit to us.

—The tone of this discussion must be set by nobody other than RABOTNICHESKO DELO and the party press in general.

Glasnost and the new thinking are not and cannot be the professional privilege of cdrtain groups or individuals, who can dispense indulgences for honesty, justice, and tbkectivity.

—Glasnost is precisely the opposite; it means the elimination of the monopoly of some people on assuming the position of judges and serving as the highest court of justice.

This does not mean keeping silent about the difficulties.

As I already noted, we are having and will have difficulties.? However if we get caught in the web of "we have this but not that," or "we want this, but not that," we will deviate from the main factors.

Our people do not need whining, weeping, and wailing, which create a negative attitude toward restructuring.

Our people require that we defend our cause and complete what we have begun.

Therefore, the main thing is **to support the new factors,** which are emerging in our countries and popularize them among all the people.

—Restructuring can be implemented **only through the people** as their social and historical creativity, and as the core and essence of their practical life.

—I mean **all the people,** the millions of people, who with their work, experience, and loyalty to socialism will turn Bulgaria into a highly developed and civilized country.

—I mean **all generations** of working people. There is a place for all generations in restructuring.

Glasnost means placing man, as the subject of restructuring and as its direct promoter, at the center of attention.

—Now more than ever it is necessary to encourage initiative and innovative spirit, to support all signs of talent in our society.

—It is necessary to really support people in their practical efforts toward becoming managers of socialist property and administrators of the territory in which they live.

—It is necessary to become aware that **for the first time in our country we are engaged in comprehensively solving the question of transferring a tremendous amount of power to the self-managing communities by developing in this manner a strong, vital, and effective civic society in the Marxist sense of the word.**

—It is necessary to reveal that the democratization of management is also based on rights, duties, and responsibilities—that **order and discipline** are necessary.

To put it briefly, the enthusiasm over restructuring, the struggle for and concern about the implementation of the July plenum decisions, should be the focus of our attention.

At the BCP National Conference we stressed that transforming restructuring into the nationwide cause of the people must be the **strategy** of our work in connection with the practical implementation of the July plenum concept.

In order to be successful in this revolutionary initiative, we cannot address the people in general, the millions of citizens as a whole, and the toilers of socialism **as anonymous factors that are subject to restructuring.**

By no means should this be so.

—The basic shortcoming of our former political, ideological, and other activities lay precisely in treating the people as if they were the anonymous creators of material and intellectual assets.

—As is known, this shortcoming stemmed from the alienation of the individual citizen and the social communities from the state, from society, and from our cause.

The whole profound meaning of the idea of self-management lies in the requirement to overcome this anonymity and to **reveal both the abilities and the responsibilities of the individual and of the social communities.**

I would like to repeat once more what I said at the July plenum: **By implementing the restructuring process in depth, to the heart of the matter, we are by no means renouncing our ideals and goals.**

—We have understood from our own experience that we will not achieve these goals and ideals promptly and easily. However, they continue to be our programmatic designs and projects, and under the changed circumstances today, we will struggle to implement them with new methods and means. As a result of all this, there is no reason to lose confidence.

This is why glasnost must create a serene intellectual and moral atmosphere in our society.

—Glasnost should be placed at the service of man—it should help him to understand what happens in our country, what we are aspiring for, and how to achieve the goals we have set ourselves.

—We need an atmosphere of confidence and pride in our achievements, a sense of responsibility for the cause and for activities which will lead our society to new successes.

To what things would I like to draw your attention in particular?

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the people's masses are the creators of history. The strength of the April plenum policy lies in the very fact that the unity of the workers class, the working peasants, and the intelligentsia was created under the leadership of the BCP. The intellectual leap in Bulgaria's development which we accomplished during the period that has elapsed since the April plenum, and everything we created in our intellectual life is the result of the efforts of our scientists, artists, and educational workers. As to the leading figures, including those engaged in the intellectual sphere, they are evaluated according to their ability to become the exponents, inspirers, and organizers of the people's masses.

At the BCP National Conference we developed our views on amateur artistic associations.

This question should naturally be dealt with as part of the important problem concerning the subjects of social activities, as part of our social system.

—In the course of building socialism we are trying to develop this system, to enhance the party's leading role, to further develop the activities of mass organizations. The role of the Fatherland Front, the trade unions, and the Komsomol, above all, should be further developed.

—The Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] plays an essentially important role in the construction of socialism, in consolidating the people's moral-political unity.

Today, in striving for a broad expansion of the working people's self-initiative, the question of amateur artistic associations acquires great importance.

Under the circumstances of self-management this process is a natural and necessary one.

—It is natural because it is dictated by the very essence of socialism, by its humanitarian and democratic spirit, by the requirements of progress in the development of the socialist individual.

—It is necessary, because under the present-day conditions the economic, social, political, and intellectual positions of the individual are being consolidated. Under the conditions of self-management, the people's interests and needs are much more extensive and varied, the desire to search for multifarious forms of their implementation is much greater.

We have great traditions of amateur cultural activities, of developing the people's self-initiatives.

—As early as during the National Revival period vital forms of a civic society were built on this basis.

—It is a long-standing tradition of our party that the Communists should be initiators of various amateur artistic organizations.

—Numerous similar organizations exist in our country today, based on the people's interests and tastes.

We cannot fail to take into account the variety of interests which should be laid down as the basis of these associations.

—In this context it is normal that **socialist pluralism** should exist. However, this is socialist pluralism, I stress. It is implemented on the basis of our own principles, ethics, and ideals.

—Any other kind of approach is likely to lead us to incorrect paths, and alienate us from the needs of people and society.

Ours is a socialist society, we adhere to socialist principles and to a socialist way of life which we must observe. We cannot tolerate anarchy.

—Therefore, it is fully justified that such amateur artistic associations, societies, and so forth, should be established within the self-managing social communities, as an indivisible part of them.

Their activities can and should be developed as a necessary requirement of the self-managing communities, and of the territorial communities, municipalities, and settlements, in particular.

Amateur artistic associations can be established, under one form or an other, also within the structure of sociopolitical mass organizations.

By restructuring in the spirit of the July concept, the trade unions, the Komsomol, the Fatherland Front, and all other mass organizations can play an essential role in the formation and development of the activities of such associations.

Along with this, it is possible for some amateur cultural associations to exceed the framework of the self-managing social communities and sociopolitical mass organizations, to acquire nationwide importance. Nevertheless, even in such cases they cannot act otherwise than in conformity with our principles, ethics, and ideals.

This is why we should resolutely overcome the former shortcomings in our political work, which despite the unmistakable postulates on the question of **amateur cultural organizations in society**, actually underestimated this problem.

As I pointed out, the restructuring processes objectively produce a variety of amateur cultural associations in all spheres of life. There is no doubt whatsoever that these associations will perform their role and occupy a special place in the intellectual sphere. There is even more: **Intellectual work presupposes a particular need for the existence of such associations.**

Our society will support such organizations, it will make their work accessible to the nation.

In summing up my aforementioned statements, I would like to stress: **Restructuring is aimed at achieving intellectual prosperity, intellectual wealth, and an intellectual atmosphere which should permeate all of society.**

—The intellectual potential is not merely a "resource" which serves as a prerequisite for the development of the remaining spheres of social reality. The wealth of socialist society is the wealth of the individual, elevated to the present intellectual level, which is both scientific and artistic, moral, and ideological-political.

—Intellectual wealth is a fundamental, qualitative feature of our life; it is the contemporary style of thinking and acting, of social and personal fulfillment.

—This postulate requires the establishment of conditions for a comprehensive, intellectual offensive through the overall upsurge of science, arts, and education. This is an offensive that should reach all "nuclei"—such as production, social life, the organization of various activities, and management, as well as the awareness and behavior of the individual.

The July plenum concept opens up a very large and unutilized territory that should be mastered by our experts in social sciences, philosophers, sociologists, economists, historians, lawyers, political scientists, and creative artists.

—Certain people's prejudice regarding the fact that everything has been said on this subject and that there is no place for daring, creative achievements, should be categorically refuted.

I am convinced that the intelligentsia will whole-heartedly endorse this postulate. The question is to find effective forms, methods, and means, so that the intelligentsia may be involved in restructuring with its inherent intellectual energy and intensity.

It is because we are preparing for an extensive development of the restructuring process that we are obliged to take into consideration the state of affairs pertaining to leadership in that area.

I specifically refer to the following two questions:

The first concerns the fact that **we cannot be satisfied with the manner in which leadership in certain sectors of the intellectual sphere has been implemented since the beginning of the eighties.**

Work in this sector was neglected, the processes were not analyzed and closely followed, the democratic principle of leadership was violated, and care for enhancing the vanguard role of primary party organizations deteriorated.

In certain individual sectors favorable conditions were even created for the development of monopolism, for its inherent, characteristic features and negative aspects.

I raise this question with particular urgency because it is of basic political and practical significance, because people, connected with monopolism, are actually identified with the regressive spirit, which is obstructing the restructuring process.

As is known, following the April plenum of the BCP Central Committee in 1956, with a view toward overcoming the heavy burden of the past, and for the purpose of accelerating socialist construction in our country, we opened up vast opportunities for all areas and trends of intellectual life. **It was precisely during the April plenum period that all these areas were involved in a great upsurge, that new generations of creative artists who produced great intellectual values developed.**

We allocated tremendous resources to intellectual life along the lines of the state budget, among other things, and also through local organs, economic organizations, and other institutions. The increase of these resources cannot be calculated in percentages, but in "many-fold" amounts.

—This was by no means easy for us to accomplish, but we consistently promoted this policy of building up a powerful, scientific, cultural, and educational potential, in order to provide Bulgaria with a whole network of such institutions.

—As a result of this, we reached the position of being among the first nations in the world in the development of numerous units of the intelligentsia: engineers, teachers, physicians, and so forth, as well as in the establishment of creative organizations, and also in the allocation of financial resources for the development of intellectual life, for the self-fulfillment of scientific workers, artists, and educational cadres.

—Thanks to the selfless efforts of our intelligentsia we also developed a prosperous socialist culture which enjoys a great reputation even abroad, established a scientific sector of considerable potential in our country, and built up a new educational system.

Along with this, the monopolistic attitude that has recently been disseminated in certain creative unions and organizations, in some scientific institutes, faculties, and university departments indicates how, behind the tales of "innovative spirit," regressive attitudes are being actually promoted—the principles of our society and even the principles of our intellectual life—and the noble aspirations which inspire the workers of science, culture, and education, are being distorted.

Let us take the state of the **Bulgarian Artists' Union** as an example.

—This is a union without which I personally cannot imagine the success of fine arts throughout the years of socialism in our country.

Along with this, it was precisely in the work of the Bulgarian Artists' Union that in recent years we observed certain phenomena which cannot fail to arouse our concern.

We devoted and still devote particular attention and care to the development of fine arts.

—It is difficult to point out all "channels" through which financial resources are provided for this sector of the arts—from the state budget, the local organs, the economic, and other organizations.

—However, regardless of the successes which led to the flourishing of our figurative arts, monopolism exerted its devastating influence in recent years in this sector as well.

It is true that other problems which call for restructuring exist in this area as well, but monopolism is the chief problem.

I am talking about the fact that **the entire, or nearly the entire, activity of the Bulgarian Artists' Union is monopolized by certain people who occupy key positions.**

—Through the instrument of this power and in possession of tremendous financial resources, they unscrupulously control the work of the union, determining its policy, and what is most important, they are "buying" and determining the fate of "souls" [dushi].

—They determine the policy of all the galleries in our country, as well as their attitude to individual artists.

—They have the decisive say in selecting the participants in collective exhibitions, and this means that they control access to the Bulgarian Artists' Union and the right of membership.

—They actually decide which artist will exhibit his works abroad, how the exhibition should take place, and the country where it should be held.

We see what happened in the Bulgarian Artists' Union.

—People in that Union stimulate energetic efforts, but behind these efforts they protect only their own interests.

—There is even more: Things have gone so far that only one person has the power in that union.

Instead of expressing its appreciation for the people, for the public, for those to whom fine arts are dedicated, the Bulgarian Artists' Union appreciates only itself.

—There is no other creative union where all criticism is nipped in the bud in such a drastic manner, where there can be no question of criticism at all. People are vigilantly watching so that no critical material whatsoever may appear anywhere.

Things went so far that at the end of its sessions the leadership of the Bulgarian Artists Union, without including the subject in its agenda in advance and without any discussions, would adopt "fateful decisions" regarding relations between our state and another country.

Can we talk about engaging in restructuring under these circumstances? No, restructuring is impossible in such an atmosphere.

It is legitimate to ask the question: Whose interests is the Bulgarian Artists' Union protecting?

Should we not submit this question to all members of the Bulgarian Artists' Union, to the party organization?

We are by no means trying to underrate the importance of any Bulgarian artist. However, the party will not engage in any compromise when the development of the arts and of our socialist intelligentsia is at stake.

I would like to put forth the following fundamental problem: When one speaks of shortcomings in the work of certain creative unions, I do not mean that their present leaderships should be "clobbered," in order for me to cast the blame on them.

—People of authority are working in the leaderships of the creative unions, people who do not enjoy the recognition of the people and the relevant creative communities. These people are well known, even abroad, and some of them are leading figures in our culture.

We want to change the order, organizational system, and leadership, not to fight with this man or that.

We want the leaderships of the creative unions to take the lead in restructuring, to work to implement its principles, ethics, and ideals in real life.

This is one problem that I want to put forth.

The other question concerns whether we are making a timely analysis of the profound changes that are being made in the course of restructuring within the intelligentsia itself; whether we are taking into account the changing situation, under whose influence new values, a new mood, and new criteria are being shaped; and whether we are carrying out effective political, ideological, and organizational work in conformity with this

We cannot fail to take into consideration the objective circumstances connected with the turning-point nature of the current times.

—In accordance with the July concept we are implementing **historic changes,** a transition to **a qualitatively new state,** to **a new model** of our socialist society.

—We are accomplishing this transition by utilizing Leninist methodology, through "eliminating action by stages," that is, in **a revolutionary way,** while retaining our previous achievements in **a dialectically perceived form.**

—Our society will boldly and uncompromisingly free itself from **everything that is old and holds back its development,** and will reveal its advantages in **material, social, and intellectual** respects.

Accordingly, the restructuring being carried out is a comprehensive, radical reassessment of values that we have been establishing for decades on end, that we have been adopting and applying as holy and inviolable. At the July plenum we got to the root of things, to the prime cause of many questions.

—And when such things become the subject of open discussion, which is normal, this leads to a **stimulation** of public awareness, to a strong **politicization** of thought, to a strengthening of **the critical principle.**

We are **interested** in developing these processes, we are interested in **creative discussions** and **creative dialogues.** And **the party and the Central Committee set the tone.** The fact is that the intelligentsia is quickly and profoundly sensing the changes and the moods in society, it is the bearer of valuable social information concerning the actual picture of life.

The restructuring that is increasingly gathering strength cannot fail to cause a ferment of ideas among the intelligentsia, to give rise to a multitude of questions of a political and ideological nature among (and I would say, especially among) the intelligentsia, and to activate the intelligentsia's striving to manifest itself in the search for answers to these questions.

—All this, I repeat, is natural and normal. It is a *requirement of restructuring itself,* of the very essence of socialism, and therefore we must support it and give it free passage.

—In such a situation, when a number of values are being reassessed, and when even the processes of restructuring are to be examined in their "pure" and "ideal form," it

is possible to develop feelings of satisfaction, support, and inspiration, **on the one hand,** and of hesitation, doubt, and pessimism, **on the other.**

—Under these conditions **it is possible** also to reach extremes in views and assessments, as **secondary results** of a new social climate.

One cannot fail also to take into account the role of "offended" and discontented individuals, who display exceptional energy in such situations.

—Under restructuring, the number of these people has increased. And this is natural, when one bears in mind that we are touching upon entire sections of the bureaucratic apparatus.

It is evident that the circumstances that we are discussing are undoubtedly important, but it will be incorrect to consider that they inevitably lead to negative manifestations.

For some time certain newspapers and periodicals have been printing materials that incite a negative attitude toward individual values and ideals of socialism.

—A few months ago such items appeared in the television programs.

—We cannot be satisfied with the way in which certain figures in the social sciences are handling the problems of party policy in the economy.

It is true that these are isolated cases, that they are not in the least characteristic of the intelligentsia's sociopolitical position or of its trust in the party's political line. However, we as a political leadership are bound to make a timely analysis of such cases.

When we speak about these cases, we must say: What is alarming is not that such materials appear, but that the incorrect standpoints are not refuted, and that sometimes no opportunity is given to print materials that assert correct standpoints. This is what is alarming, not the fact that critical materials are published.

It is well known that currently in Bulgaria the newspapers and periodicals are press organs of one or another organization. The reader has become accustomed to believing that what is written in a particular newspaper always expresses the view of the relevant competent organ or organization, that it is sanctioned by the leadership of the party, trade unions, Fatherland Front, or Komsomol.

—One must also take into account the fact that the press, radio, and television have not yet restructured themselves in accordance with the decisions of the BCP National Conference.

Notwithstanding this, we cannot pass over these phenomena or fail to seek their causes.

The chief cause lies in the omissions and inaction of certain of our organizations.

And this is the main lesson that we must draw.

I mean this:

—the inaction of certain higher **party, state, and public** organizations and the **low level of political, ideological, and organizational work** among the intelligentsia in the course of restructuring; and

—inaction, as a result of which a number of **substantial aspects** of our ideological work have not been elucidated from the viewpoint of the handling of the things that were in existence **even before the July plenum,** things that are themselves a source of **pride** and **optimism,** things **that gave us the July concept** as a basis for **revolutionary creativity** in all fields.

It is absolutely clear that serious conclusions are now required concerning the party's work in the intellectual sphere, where there are a number of pressing problems. We must see reality as it actually is.

It is from this position that we must approach our own work as the politburo and Secretariat in a self-critical manner. However, although recently our attention has been primarily engaged with the problems of restructuring the economy, nothing can excuse the Central Committee organs and, more specifically, Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov for the failure to work with the relevant scientific and creative organizations. For him, primary party organizations did not exist. Recently no serious measures have been undertaken in this direction.

It is clear that we must now engage without delay in carrying out the restructuring in the intellectual sphere.

Today one cannot talk of the problems of the intellectual sphere in general, and of shortcomings in general. What exists is the product of a situation that must be fundamentally changed.

—Everything that one undertakes must lead toward the restructuring of the intellectual sphere.

—*And not any old kind of restructuring, but one that* is in conformity with the principles embodied in the July concept.

It is clear that we need an approach that, in its profoundest essence, can only be a **political** one, one connected with the issue of the role and place of the intelligentsia in the restructuring of the socialist society in Bulgaria.

Bearing in mind the importance of all these issues, it is now necessary to accelerate the preparation of the documents on restructuring the intellectual sphere and, in the near future, to hold a plenum of the Central Committee.

—The preparations for the plenum must turn into a **unique kind of referendum,** largely involving intellectual figures in the discussion of the issues.

—Immediately following the plenum, **congresses of science, culture, and education** must be held. The preparations for and the holding of these congresses must become a **popular school** for the intelligentsia to demonstrate their abilities.

The work with the intelligentsia should be expanded and organized so as to ensure that within the next few months changes are felt, the self-esteem of the members of the intelligentsia is raised, and its participation in the restructuring of the whole of society is stimulated.

The guiding principle in the work must be that the basic issues are to be resolved through the intelligentsia itself.

What other practical measures should we undertake?

First, we must develop broad political work among all sections of the intelligentsia. This should lead to:

—a continuation and enrichment of the traditions of regular discussion meetings with the intelligentsia;

—explanatory work on the basic problems of restructuring;

—a new approach to develop the amateur arts principle in the organizations in the intellectual sphere, and so on.

I consider that it is especially important to outline further measures for increasing the vanguard role of the primary party organizations.

—In the July concept we provided the postulate concerning the inadmissibility of the party functioning as the active force [subekt] in the state hierarchy, which inevitably leads to deformations in the party itself. This postulate is correct, and we will consistently hold to it.

—This, however, does not denote in the least a diminution of the leading and guiding role of the BCP. In the future the BCP will continue to be a leading political force, a Marxist-Leninist vanguard that leads the people along the road of building the socialist society.

In this context, increased concern must be given to strengthening the primary party organizations in all sectors of the intellectual sphere. This must be one of the priority tasks.

Recently some party organizations have not been at the required level, their organizational, political, and ideological activity has deteriorated, and their relations with nonparty members have been neglected. In many respects the Communists do not provide a personal example.

—It is no accident that manifestations which are alien to our principles and ideals are evident precisely in these collectives, and that in some of them the primary partf organizations have turned into extensions of certain people, and have lost their political image.

—Under the conditions of restructuring, it is first of all the party organizations that must set the tone of the new thinking and the innovative search, create an atmosphere of creative renewal, and become a decisive factor in mobilizing the collectives.

—Under these conditions the political approach not only preserves its importance but also acquires new, fundamental characteristics, and organically merges with the mechanism for the functioning of the self-managing communities.

In general we must draw the uncompromisingly necessary conclusions and adopt organizational-political measures related to sharply elevating the level of party life in the intellectual sphere, and restructure this sphere in the spirit of the July concept and the decisions of the BCP National Conference. Nothing, absolutely nothing can justify the neglect of some primary party organizations.

Second, we must urgently solve several organizational issues. By this I mean:

—Stopping the delay in asserting the new structures for the self-management of intellectual life at the national level and at the level of Council of Ministers;

—Strengthening the primary party organizations, also by relieving those who have lost their qualities, demagogues, and politically corrupt people of their posts.

Third, about some pressing cadre issues.

Our cadre policy has precious April traditions.

Under the new conditions it is also a policy of fully supporting and promoting young cadres, of care for cadres, and of uniting cadres from various generations. This policy has been confirmed by life.

There are pressing and most urgent issues in the area of cadre policy. There are also corrupt cadres.

—These issues must be solved without turning the whole thing into an action or a campaign.

Other issues are also on our agenda. Among them there are issues related to:

—The directors of institutes, centers, and laboratories;

—University rectors, deans, and department heads;

—Leading cadres in the academies;

—Cadres in the higher party, state, and public organizations.

It is necessary to ensure the normal "blood circulation" in the cadre renewal of the organizations of the intellectual sphere.

Fourth, there are some everyday social issues, which must be solved quickly.

Obviously when assessing things in this area we must take into consideration the fact that during past decades we had to solve first of all the issues related to creating the material-technical, organizational, and cadre potential of the intellectual sphere.

—As I already noted, according to many indices of this potential we occupy one of the leading places. During these years our state and our people invested huge means which are immense for the size of the country.

—Simultaneously, the **system of remunerating labor improved many times** during this period, a process which also encompassed the intellectual sphere.

—In addition to this, the producers of intellectual assets received and are continuing to receive many perquisites and means for their development, not only in the form of remuneration.

—A significant part of the **public consumption funds** and the **state budget** is used to provide free education, improving the qualifications, **official trips and specialization abroad, international creative events,** and so forth.

—Many of the organizations could not exist without subsidizing most of the activities related to creating and disseminating intellectual assets. The subsidies for theater tickets for example, represent more than 50 percent of their price.

Is there a bourgeois state which so generously invests money in social assistance for its intelligentsia?

—Perhaps this form of social aid has its weak points in terms of incorrectly understood economic efficiency; however, for us, as a socialist society, this is a matter of fundamental policy toward the intelligentsia.

We discern some growing problems and are working to solve them.

—Eighteen months ago we already broached **the issue of remunerating scientific cadres** and adopted a principled decision. However, it was necessary in practice to clarify many issues in accordance with the premises.

—Now clarity exists on the principles of increasing the basic wages of scientific workers, and we can immediately begin to apply them. The results of the economic development in recent years allow this.

—The same applies to remuneration in the sphere of artistic creativity.

The housing problem is another outstanding issue. Now **we must give priority to satisfying the pressing need for dwellings for young scientific workers and artistic creators.**

—At one of the next stages I propose to deal with the social problems of health-care workers and teachers.

You see, comrades, this is the manner in which we must review some issues related to the intelligentsia, with a view to restructuring the intellectual sphere and preparing the BCP Central Committee Plenum.

We rely on the intellectual potential of our nation and will rely on it in our common work and struggle for the revolutionary restructuring of the socialist society.

From the rostrum of the BCP National Conference we paid due respect to our intelligentsia, its selfless work and creativity, and its role in the cause of restructuring.

—Now all areas of life have a thirst for science, culture, and highly qualified and competent cadres in production and in the management of our economy.

Our political and organizational work among the individual strata and units of the intelligentsia must conform to the April principles and approaches of the party and the April plenum and attention, both toward the issues which concern these officials, and toward the pressing problems we must solve.

Therefore, the measures which we will adopt in connection with restructuring the intellectual sphere are in the name of the intelligentsia, in its interest, and in the interest of our revolutionary cause.

I would like to stress again: We cannot visualize our cultural history and our development in general, without the strong bond between the people and the intelligentsia and between the intelligentsia and the people, **which was created during the April period under the BCP leadership. This bond was a factor of decisive importance in Bulgaria's growth and in its transformation into a country with leading, modern areas of production such as electronics, machine building, chemical industry, biotechnologies, and a decisive factor in developing our intellectual life.**

This bond is now the guarantee of the success of restructuring. It is great capital, which the party and the intelligentsia will preserve and increase for the benefit of the people and for the future of our motherland.

BCP Politburo Approves of Jakes-Zhivkov Talks

AU281147 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Apr 88 p 8

[Text] The BCP Central Committee Politburo heard information on the friendly and working visit of Milos Jakes, CPCZ general secretary, to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which took place on 20 April.

The Politburo highly evaluated the talks of Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Milos Jakes, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, and in a spirit of total understanding and unity of thought on all issues which were discussed. The agreements which were reached represent a new impulse to further strengthen fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the BCP and the CPCZ and between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the CSSR.

The Long-Range Program on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the CSSR Until the Year 2000 determines the strategic directions in developing socialist integration between the two countries. A central part of the document is devoted to cooperation in branches which promote scientific-technical progress, the further strengthening of specialization and production sharing, the creation of joint enterprises and trusts, and the utilization of other reliable forms of cooperation.

The coincidence of the goals and principles of restructuring of the social and economic spheres, which is taking place in our countries, as well as the total unity of thought on the most important issues of the international situation, have been positively evaluated. The two fraternal countries have stressed the great significance of restructuring, which is taking place in the USSR, and have expressed their unreserved support of the peaceful initiatives of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact members for creating a world without violence and nuclear weapons, and for restructuring international relations in the spirit of the new political thinking. They attribute exceptional importance to the USSR-U.S. INF Treaty and to the forthcoming Moscow summit, which have inspired the hope for real disarmament.

The BCP greets the new CSSR initiative to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Simultaneously the BCP expressed satisfaction with the CSSR support of the People's Republic of Bulgaria's efforts to turn the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, and develop relations of good neighborliness and cooperation among the Balkan states.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo approved the agreements which were reached and instructed the competent party and state organs and economic organizations to adopt specific measures for further expanding and strengthening friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the BCP and the CPCZ and between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the CSSR.

Kubadinski Speaks at Fatherland Front Meeting

AU291028 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] A working conference on the progress of restructuring in the work of Fatherland Front municipal organizations and committees opened in Sofia this morning.

In his report Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council pointed out as follows:

[Begin Kubadinski recording] Now, under the conditions of restructuring, essential changes must occur in the mutual interaction of municipal committees with people's councils, in order to make the Fatherland Front a true partner in opposing the territorial organs of self-management.

It is essentially most important for the Fatherland Front municipal councils to cooperate with the population in a direct manner and to definitely solve the vital problems connected with labor, everyday life, and recreation.

The people's councillors and mayors, who were just elected, need the closest, constant attention. The forthcoming task is to establish a strict discipline and organization and to perform systematic work in implementing the assignments of the voters.

The municipal committees today are becoming an essential link in the structure and a decisive factor for the total activities of the Fatherland Front. [End Kubadinski recording]

Zhivkov Addresses Agrarian Union Meeting

AU291020 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Report on Todor Zhivkov speech at meeting of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union Supreme Council on 29 April 88 at the Sofia Lyudmila Zhivkov People's Palace of Culture, by reporter Boyan Bonev]

[Text] A session of the Supreme Union Council of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] opened in Sofia this morning. Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council participated in the work of the session.

Very cordially and with prolonged applause the delegates to the session welcomed Comrade Todor Zhivkov, who was accompanied by Petur Tanchev, secretary of the BZNS Permanent Board and other secretaries of the BZNS Permanent Board.

With an introductory speech Comrade Petur Tanchev opened the session of the Supreme Union Council and immediately gave the floor to Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

Comrade Zhivkov dwelled in detail on the topical problems of restructuring in our country in connection with the implementation of the July plenum concept on the further construction of socialism in the country. Comrade Todor Zhivkov outlined the main trends in connection with mobilizing the worker's class, the working peasants, and the people's intelligentsia, for innovating our society and leading it to a qualitatively higher level of development. He described the present-day, large-scale, complicated, difficult, and complex tasks of the dynamic restructuring front in connection with the implementation of the decisions adopted by the BCP National Conference.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov expressed his confidence that Communists and united agrarians will once more march side by side in implementing and achieving the great new goals and tasks. This is of tremendous importance for the consolidation of the people's moral-political unity under the conditions of the restructuring process.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov also dealt with some topical problems of the current international situation.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech was heard with great attention and all those present in the hall of the Lyudmila Zhivkova Palace of Culture cordially applauded Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech and thus expressed their full agreement and support for the analyses, evaluations, and conclusions made in his profoundly meaningful speech at the meeting of the BZNS Supreme Union Council.

A recess was announced following Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech, and you already heard the applause for the honorary presidium. After the recess the statements of the delegates began on problems of restructuring, and on the active participation of united agrarians in the processes of revolutionary innovation.

It is expected that the BZNS Supreme Council will adopt a decision on the problems which will be discussed. This decision will intensify the activities of the BZNS for its further participation in restructuring processes, for the new elevation of the communist-agrarian, fraternal unity and cooperation.

Dear listeners, we will further inform you on the proceedings of the BZNS Supreme Union Council session in our subsequent Horizon news program.

Kubadinski Receives SFRY Ecology Delegation

AU281651 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 27 Apr 88 p 1

[Text] On 26 April Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, received a delegation of the Environmental Protection and Development Federation of the SFRY led by its chairman Mito Micajkov.

The two sides exchanged information on ecological problems, stressing cooperation in this exceptionally important field. They emphasized the great importance of the Belgrade meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries held in February 1988, at which a special place was given to the problems of environmental protection. The importance of the Bulgarian initiative for ecological protection of the Balkan peninsula was also pointed out, which forms a good basis for joint activity in this direction.

Krustyu Trichkov, first deputy chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council and chairman of the All-National Committee for Nature Protection, took part in the meeting, which was also attended by Dusan Nikolic, charge d'affaires ad interim at the SFRY Embassy in Bulgaria.

The delegation from the Environmental Protection and Development Federation is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the All-National Committee for Nature Protection. After the two sides have mutually acquainted themselves with the public environmental protection work of the two allied movements, new opportunities present themselves for even more active cooperation in the field of ecology.

Balev Visits Kabul, Talks With Kawiani

AU282034 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] In Kabul Comrade Milko Balev met with Najmuddin Kawiani, member of the Politburo and international affairs secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. They discussed certain topical problems of the international situation, as well as specific forms for further developing the links and cooperation between the BCP and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

Comrade Milko Balev is heading the Bulgarian delegation that is taking part in the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the victory of the April Revolution in Afghanistan.

Khristov Meets With Uruguay CP Delegation

AU281918 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Sofia, April 28 (BTA)—Mr Emil Khristov, secretary of the CC of the BCP, met a delegation of the Communist Party of Ecuador, led by Mr Gandi Burbano, member of the Executive Committee and International Affairs Secretary of the party.

The guests were acquainted in detail with the July concept and the resolutions of the National Party Conference for a radical restructuring of the material and intellectual life in the country and with the consistent efforts of the BCP and Bulgaria to consolidate peace and security in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world.

Mr Gandi Burbano gave a high assessment to the innovative activities of the BCP and expressed the conviction that the successful implementation of the tasks which have been set will make socialism more attractive and will step up the struggle of the progressive and democratic forces in the world.

The two sides expressed the mutual striving to further promote the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Charter 77 Calls for Wonka Death Investigation

AU281259 Paris AFP in English
1256 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Prague, April 28 (AFP)—The Czechoslovak human rights organizations Charter 77 and VONS called Thursday for an official investigation into the sudden death in prison of prominent dissident Pavel Wonka, at the age of 35.

The official Czechoslovak media has made no mention of Mr. Wonka's death, which came shortly after he was arrested for violating a house arrest order following 21 months in jail on charges of incitement to rebellion.

His death was announced to his mother by authorities at the Hradec Kralove prison, 100 kilometers (70 miles) east of Prague, where he was held. They did not give the cause, but described it as "sudden", his mother said.

VONS, the Committee for the Defense of People Unjustly Accused, and the Charter 77 human rights monitoring group called on parliament to "carry out an investigation into the circumstances surrounding Pavel Wonka's death and to publish its conclusions".

VONS said it was the first reported case of a political prisoner dying in detention during the 10 years of the organization's existence.

The human rights groups also called for "independent doctors" to assist at an autopsy to "determine the responsibility of justice ministry officials and prison guards" in the death.

A U.S. doctor, Robert Lawrence of Harvard University, had agreed in principle to take part, the groups said.

Mr. Wonka was sentenced to 21 months in jail and three years of house arrest in May 1986 on charges of incitement to rebellion after he tried to run for parliament.

He claimed he was inspired by the reform program of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, an argument the court rejected.

He was freed in February after completing his prison sentence, rearrested five weeks later, on April 5, and sentenced to another five months for having violated the terms of his house arrest.

Mr. Wonka's brother, Jiri, 38, spent a year in jail for having supported his brother's candidacy.

Pavel Wonka had also spent 14 months in jail in 1984-85.

During his most recent imprisonment, Charter 77 had tried to get him released on health grounds. It said he had suffered brain damage from beatings in August.

DPA Reports Death, Biography

LD282245 Hamburg DPA in German
2132 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Prague (DPA)—The death of Pavel Wonka, a 35-year-old Czechoslovak civil rights activist of German extraction, has put a serious strain on relations between the CSSR and the West. Wonka, who had tried in vain since 1983 to emigrate to the FRG, died in prison at Koeniggratz (Hradec Kralove) on Tuesday. On Thursday, the CSSR authorities approved the participation of a U.S. doctor in the autopsy. Prague Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak says that he discussed the case during his meeting with North Rhine-Westphalia Prime Minister Johannes Rau. According to CSSR sources, Wonka suffocated to death in prison while vomiting. He had a stomach ulcer.

Wonka drew attention to himself when he tried to be an independent candidate for the Prague Parliament. This brought him a prison sentence from which he was released early on the condition that he report daily to the police. Since he did not comply with this obligation to report—according to his mother, he had become lame—he was imprisoned again and died in custody on Tuesday. It was learned on Thursday from diplomatic circles in Prague that the case is to be brought before the Vienna CSCE follow-up conference by the Western pwoers.

Initial Experience With Self-Management

AU281140 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
26 Apr 88 p 1

[Editorial: "First Labor Councils Are Stepping Into Life"]

[Excerpts] The number of enterprises applying the comprehensive experiment in enhancing the independence and responsibility of economic organizations for efficient development is growing. Within the framework of this experiment, labor collectives are beginning to test the elements of socialist self-management contained in the draft law on state enterprises. [passage omitted]

On 22 March RUDE PRAVO reported on the election of an 11-member council of the labor collective in plant No. 5 of the Jewelry concern in Jablonec nad Nisou. The council was elected in a secret ballot by 247 employees of the plant, who gave the candidates between 80 and 100 percent of their votes. On Thursday, 31 March, we wrote in detail about the formation of an assembly made up of delegates of the labor collective and on the election of a labor council in the Karlovy Vary Glass-Moser enterprise. The Czech crystal glass works in Telc in Jihlava district also proceeded, as we reported on Saturday, 23 April, to the election of an agency of socialist self-management.

On 10 March the CSSR Government approved, in its resolution No. 64, the principles of testing by experimentation the application of socialist self-management by

labor collectives. Why has the experiment been launched? Primarily because the restructuring of the economic mechanism would get stuck in the middle of the road if people did not come to identify with it, if they did not participate to an ever increasing extent in management, in decisions on the fate of their plant or enterprise. After all, in people lies the main reserve of our restructuring. And it is precisely via the development of democracy in our entire life, that is, including the application of direct democracy in the production process, that the path toward tapping this reserve leads. [passage omitted]

Most people who have participated in the election of directors will confirm that the opportunity to propose and elect a management official from the midst of one's own ranks places people under mutual obligation and establishes good prerequisites for their further cooperation. The application of the principles of socialist self-management in production—assemblies of labor collectives or of delegates of labor collectives and the activity of labor councils—is another cornerstone of the economic reform that can effectively contribute to eliminating all the negative manifestations with regard to the attitude of individuals toward the results of the whole that have piled up at some places.

It must also be frankly said, however, that the road to socialist self-management will not be easy. At many places it will be necessary to overcome a certain reluctance to change anything whatsoever. On the other hand, over-haste would also be out of place. The step involved is, after all, a serious one. This is also why on 21 January this year the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat approved a document entitled "Procedure To Be Applied by Party Agencies and Organizations in Testing by Experimentation the Principles of Socialist Self-Management by Labor Collectives and Elections of Enterprise (Plant) Directors."

Although experiences with the functioning of socialist self-management are still scanty, it is apparent that socialist self-management will be viable, in particular, where collectives are attaining good results. It would be a mistake to assume that at present, at a time when the new economic mechanism is not yet fully operative, self-management and labor councils will act as a panacea for all lingering ailments.

The inception of socialist self-management must be preceded by a comprehensive analysis of the political, social, and economic situation in the relevant enterprise. In the Moser enterprise, it was carried out by a working group composed of representatives of higher party and trade union agencies and functionaries of the enterprise party organization and of the social organizations in the enterprise in cooperation with the management.

Surely, voices opposing self-management will also crop up. In the Moser enterprise, for instance, they still remember the experience, which was not good, from the brief operation of self-management agencies formed in the years of crisis 1968-69. However, the difference between self-management then and today is substantial and obvious. Whereas 20 years ago the birth of self-management agencies was accompanied by an absolute lack of restraint, today's assemblies of delegates are endowed, from their very inception, with order and pattern. But, most important of all, there is one significant difference—today's councils are taking shape under the leadership of party organizations, with the party playing an important political-organizing and ideoeducational role. [passage omitted]

In selecting candidates, in the discussion, and in the entire election process, the democratic elements of working people's participation in management and the party's leading role are being developed and applied in a well-thought-out and balanced manner.

The main thing is, as the Ninth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee stressed, to make sure that experienced workers, distinguished designers, and technicians; Communists, people without party affiliation, and members of other political parties; people who are dedicated to socialism and command natural authority among the working people; functionaries of party, trade union, and other social organizations get elected to the agencies of self-management.

According to the draft law on state enterprises, the council is a collective entrepreneurial agency of self-management that shares responsibility for the effective economic and social activity of the enterprise. The council is accountable to the assembly, to which it renders account. Let us stress that the present stage is still one of experimentation. The guideline for the further activity of the agencies of socialist self-management, wherever they may take shape in the coming months, is the aforementioned resolution No. 64 of the Federal Government and the resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat.

Experience gained in the Karlovy Vary Glass-Moser enterprise clearly shows that it will be necessary to "harmonize" the council's activity with the activities of the trade union organization, to sensibly divide responsibility and, above all, tasks between them. The council must also seek effective forms of cooperation with the management. It must not be seen by the management staff as some sort of an "adversary," but must primarily function as its responsible partner whose collective wisdom helps to bring national, enterprise, and individual interests into harmony.

TV Begins 'Teletext' Experiment 1 May

LD290924 Prague CTK in English
0832 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 29 (STK)—After Hungary, Czechoslovakia is the second socialist country to launch experimental teletext broadcasting.

From May 1 Czechoslovak television will broadcast printed information on the most important events in Czechoslovakia and abroad on several scores of pages, which will be modified several times during the day on weather reports, traffic information, cinema and theater programs, travel bureaus' offers, and various announcements of individual enterprises, organizations and institutions.

The experimental teletext broadcasting will last about six months—the regular broadcasting is to start next January.

Prague Radio Reports Polish Strikes

LD281821 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] The Polish newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU today carried a commentary on the interruption of work at the municipal voivodship transport enterprise in Bydgoszcz on Monday and on the interruption of work in some workshops of the metallurgical combine in Krakov on Tuesday and Wednesday. The demands for increased wages says the commentary, do not take into consideration the production results of enterprises as a whole. This is a path that will stimulate inflation and strengthen the destabilization of the domestic market. It does not take into consideration the state of the national economy or its foreign debt. It is shortsightedness, the consequences of which have been felt by Poland on more than one occasion.

SFRY's KOMUNIST Interviews Jakes

LD271406 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1208 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Prague, April 27 (TANJUG)—Central Committee Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Milos Jakes has stated in an interview to the Yugoslav party organ KOMUNIST that the Czechoslovak Communist Party was sincerely interested in developing cooperation with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY).

According to Jakes, the furthering of inter-party cooperation is linked with the development of overall Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations.

Jakes said that the development of inter-party relations was not always easy and that problems had been overcome through joint efforts. He said that an atmosphere of trust and friendly openness has been created gradually. It today characterizes the overall Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations, said the Central Committee secretary-general of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The weekly KOMUNIST will publish Jakes' interview in one of its future editions. In the interview, Jakes also answered a series of questions on the economic reform and the development of socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia and on the Communist and workers' movements in the world.

Government Session Discusses CEMA Plans

LD282325 Prague CTK in English 1905 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 28 (CTK)—The course to be pursued by Czechoslovak bodies and organizations in the first stage of the coordination of the 1991-1995 plans of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member states was discussed by the Czechoslovak Government at its first meeting after its appointment today.

For the first time this coordination will be prepared in connection with changes in the management of the CMEA states' economies on three levels: of the governments, ministries and enterprises. Problems involved stem from the fact that the long-term outlook of Czechoslovakia's economic development has not yet been completed and that the organizational structure and methods of management of the economy are changing. The same applies to most CMEA partners. The reorganization of the mechanism of cooperation and socialist economic integration and the concept of international socialist division of labor of the CMEA states for 1991-2005, which is being drafted, also play their role.

Another point on the agenda was the concept of Czechoslovak-Soviet economic and scientific-technological cooperation for 15 to 20 years. The government said the concept required in the exchange of goods a changeover to a new model of the division of labor—specialization and cooperation in production between branches.

The government stressed that the concept must create the scope for structural changes in the Czechoslovak manufacturing industry and more intensively apply new forms such as direct relations and joint ventures.

The government discussed and approved a bill on social security under which new old-age pensions and various types of benefits are to come into force next October 1. The changes will require some 4,500 million crowns annually. Adjustments are also being made to create preconditions for pensions not to lag behind economic development.

Another subject discussed was draft measures to stabilize the home market in the years 1988-1990. The government stressed the need to improve the situation on the home market and noted that measures must be taken to gradually achieve a balance between supply and demand.

The Czechoslovak Government also dealt with a draft agreement with China on basic lines of long-term economic and scientific-technological cooperation.

Jakes Gives Interview to Finnish TV

LD281431 Prague CTK in English 1313 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 28 (CTK)—The decisive task of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the entire society at

present is to speed up the socio-economic development of the country and ensure further substantial increase of the living standard of people, Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes has stated in an interview to Finnish television.

He stressed the need for the working people to subscribe to the party's intentions and actively contribute to their implementation. This is the aim of the process of restructuring which lays the main stress on deepening and extending socialist democracy, higher participation of people in the solution of all topical tasks at work, at the place where they live and in the framework of the whole society.

An extraordinarily important part of restructuring is a fundamental economic reform aimed at ensuring that the system of management better satisfies the needs of the intensification of the national economy and opens up the road towards an effective application of scientific-technological findings in practice.

In creating and implementing its policy, Czechoslovakia creatively uses the experience and knowledge of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Union as well as of other socialist countries. An important role is attached to the development of economic and scientific-technological cooperation in the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and also to equal and mutually advantageous cooperation with other states. Therefore the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the state actively strive for deepening confidence in international relations. An example of successful cooperation between states with different social systems are all-round relations between Czechoslovakia and Finland, Milos Jakes saidl

Further Report

LD281002 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] In its main news program yesterday, Finnish television broadcast an interview with Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. Comrade Jakes gave the interview to Finnish television's special correspondent (Jarmo Maekelae). Replying to a series of topical questions, Comrade Jakes spoke about matters of the internal life of our country at the current time, and the direction of Czechoslovak foreign policy. He stressed that it was a decisive task of the party and the whole of society today to make full use of the opportunities of socialism to achieve a further marked increase in the people's living standards. Among other things, Comrade Jakes had this to say:

[Begin Jakes recording] At the 17th CPCZ Congress we mapped out a program for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. This accelerating process can be put into practice only under the following two conditions: Firstly, the tools of management, the system of management must meet the needs of intensifying the economy and must open the door to the application of science and technology; and second, tackling these tasks must become a matter directly for the people themselves—that means that socialist democracy has to be enhanced. [end recording]

[Announcer] Asked how far the economic reform plan, which has been approved, was inspired by restructuring in the Soviet Union, Comrade Milos Jakes emphasized, among other things, that our people welcomed very positively the changes which are being carried out under the leadership of the CPSU in the Soviet Union in the economy and other spheres of life. Developments in the Soviet Union have a very good influence on speeding up movement in the direction of restructuring in Czechoslovakia, he stated. Restructuring in the Soviet Union inspires us, its basic principles accord with our intensions; we are not copying their specific experiences, but using them in a creative way with due regard to the circumstances in our country, he said. Like the Soviet Union however, Comrade Jakes continued, we start from the assumption that the basis for successfully implementing restructuring is its comprehensive nature. The essence and core of all the changes is the deepening of socialist democracy in the enterprise sphere, in the activity of the National Committees, the National Front, the social and interest-based organizations, and in all aspects of life, Comrade Jakes stated. The people must really feel that they are the stewards of their country's resources, that nothing is done without their involvement, that they have a say in the way things are run, that they have great democratic rights and powers, but also great responsibility for the execution of decisions adopted. The demand for democratization also affects the party itself, Comrade Jakes went on to stress. Here it is a matter of shifting the process of decisionmaking down to the primary organizations as far as possible. This also applies to cadre policy, which we must execute more democratically, under public scrutiny, and not behind closed doors. If someone is proposed for a position of leadership, whether at the workplace or in society as a whole, the members of the primary party organization or work collective in which the proposed person operates must have the decisive say on the matter, because they are the ones who know him best and are able to judge responsibly whether to support his nomination or not.

Going on to reply to questions about topical economic and social tasks, Comrade Jakes stated that the main thing was to carry out the restructuring of the economy, reduce its demand for raw and production materials and fuel and energy, make much more effective use of science and technology, and increase our country's involvement in the international division of labor, in particular with the CEMA states. The basic needs of the people have been secured, he stated; now it is a question of better satisfying their needs and raising their quality of life, Comrade Jakes continued. It is not just a matter of ensuring a wide variety of foodstuffs and high-quality consumer goods, but also of the other very important aspects that significantly affect living standards. In this

context Comrade Jakes mentioned the need to tackle environmental problems, raise the standard of health care, expand the system of social care, improve the education and training system, deal with housing problems, the development of culture, and so on. At the same time it is absolutely vital to ensure that the people's living standards reflect more accurately their contribution to society—that means doing away with wage uniformity, and getting rid of the deep-rooted psychology of egalitarianism, for that is the basic of social justice, Comrade Jakes stressed, and that is what we see as the important condition for motivating people's interest in the results of work.

That was the gist of the interview that Comrade Milos Jakes gave to Finnish television.

Jakes, FRG's Rau Discuss Peace, Relations

LD282034 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, had a meeting today with Johannes Rau, North Rhine-Westphalian premier, who is currently in Czechoslovakia in connection with the North Rhine-Westphalian Economy and Technology Information Day.

Milos Jakes briefed his guest on progress in implementing the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress aimed at speeding up the country's socioeconomic development, and on the purpose and significance of the seventh and ninth sessions of the party Central Committee for the party and society as a whole.

Both officials voiced support for the efforts to preserve peace, achieve disarmanent and strengthen security and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world. They stressed the importance of creating further conditions for the development of relations between Czechoslovakia and the FRG, and in this context they gave a positive assessment of the results of the visit by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Czechoslovakia in January. A considerable contribution to developing good neighborly relations was also being made by intensive contacts and dialogue between the CPCZ and the SPD, they stated. Both sides confirmed their interest in furthering mutual cooperation, particularly in the economic sphere, and in environmental protection, which is developing successfully between the Czech SR and North Rhine-Westphalia.

CSSR, Soviet Economists Hold Roundtable

AU281240 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Apr 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Roundtable on Economic Theory"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—A 2-day roundtable discussion organized by the editorial office of the CPCZ Central Committee's theoretical and political journal NOVA MYSL, in cooperation with the fraternal CPSU Central Committee journal KOMMUNIST, opened in Prague on Monday [25 April]. The discussion concerns current problems of developing economic theory and the role of economic theory in restructuring the economic mechanism and other spheres of socialist society's life.

Leading Czechoslovak and Soviet economists deal with questions concerning the forms and methods of socialist ownership, the functions of the central sphere of national economic management, and the problems of putting value instruments, notably price-setting, on an objective footing. They are also delivering their opinions on questions of socialist entrepreneurship, the development of democracy in the production process, and the improvement of the CEMA mechanism.

The discussion is attended by, among others, academician Leonid Abalkin, director of the Economics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Nikolay Petrakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and deputy director of the Central Economics-Mathematics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Further Reportage on Chnoupek's Egypt Visit

More on Mideast Conference Proposal

AU291027 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Apr 88 p 7

[CTK special correspondent's report: "Emphasis on Political Dialogue; B. Chnoupek Confers in Egypt"]

[Excerpts] Cairo (special CTK correspondent)—Talks between Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, and Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt, opened in Cairo on Tuesday. [26 April]. [passage omitted]

The talks dealt extensively with the present situation in the Middle East and ways toward its just solution. Although Czechoslovakia is not immediately involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the CSSR minister of foreign affairs said, we have been thinking about how we might actively contribute to its just solution. As a country lying at the crossroads of Europe, in a place of many international contacts, we could offer our services and organize some form of an unofficial international conference, some kind of a model that would give distinguished nongovernmental personalities, ex-politicians, and scientists from countries involved in the conflict, standing members of the UN Security Council, and other guests an opportunity to meet and to exchange views on what needs to be done for a genuine international conference on the Middle East to be able to meet at the earliest possible date. [passage omitted]

Holds Final Talks

LD281510 Prague CTK in English
1401 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Cairo April 28 (CTK correspondent)—During final talks with visiting Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek today, his Egyptian colleague 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid voiced a favorable stand on the Czechoslovak proposal to re-open a Czechoslovak Consulate General in Alexandria and a Czechoslovak cultural center in Cairo.

Both ministers re-affirmed the two countries' interest in the development of contacts and cooperation on all levels and in the continuation of political dialogue.

The Egyptian representative highly appreciated Czechoslovakia's support and assistance to the national liberation struggle of the Egyptian people in the past. Both ministers voiced the conviction that present-day Czechoslovak-Egyptian relations have all prerequisites and prospects for successful development on all levels and in all spheres.

Bohuslav Chnoupek and 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid agreed that new approaches and new thinking in the foreign political sphere are absolutely necessary for a Middle East settlement. They voiced the readiness of both countries to actively help this by full support for the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people and the effort to achieve Arab unity.

A joint Czechoslovak-Egyptian communique was signed.

Alexandria—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek later left Cairo for the second largest Egyptian city of Alexandria.

He discussed with Governor Ismail Gausaki mainly the revival of the long-standing friendship between this city and the Slovak capital, Bratislava.

Ends Visit; Departs

LD281857 Prague CTK in English
1656 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Cairo April 28 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek ended his official visit to Egypt today and left for Prague.

Returns to Prague 28 Apr

LD282258 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
2100 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Bohuslav Chnoupek, the Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, arrived back in Prague this evening from his official visit to the Egyptian Arab Republic. The visit took place at the invitation of the Egyptian deputy prime minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid.

Mozambican Foreign Minister To Visit

LD281150 Prague CTK in English
1100 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 28 (CTK)—Mozambican Foreign Minister Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi will pay a working visit to Czechoslovakia in the next few days, at the invitation of his Czechoslovak colleague Bohuslav Chnoupek.

Rohlicek Receives Afghan Deputy Premier

LD282107 Prague CTK in English
1811 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 28 (CTK)—Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek received here today Afghan Deputy Premier and chairman of the Afghan-Czechoslovak Friendship Society Hasan Shar.

The two representatives informed each other of the two countries' situation. Hasan Sharq explained the present internal and economic policy of Afghanistan and expected development.

Rudolf Rohlicek acquainted the guest with restructuring of the political and economic life in Czechoslovakia and the work of the government which must formulate long-term targets and at the same time react to a number of concrete problems in the economic sphere.

Husak Receives Syria, PRC Envoys' Credentials

LD281934 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1400 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] President of the Republic Gustav Husak received Subhi Haddad, the new ambassador of the Syrian Arab Republic to Czechoslovakia who presented him with his credentials in Prague Castle. In a cordial talk they both commended the longstanding traditional friendly relations between both countries, which are developing in the spirit of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Syrian Arab Republic signed at the highest level in 1985 in Prague. They expressed their determination to continue to expand mutually advantageous cooperation and contacts in the economy, education, culture, science, health care and other spheres in every way.

Credentials have also been presented to the president of the Republic by (Wang Xin T'a), the new ambassador of the PRC to Czechoslovakia. In a cordial and friendly talk, both officials noted with satisfaction that all-round contacts between both countries were developing successfully on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage. They stressed the importance of new and more effective forms of economic cooperation, such as industrial cooperation, the establishment of joint ventures, and the development of direct cooperation.

CPCZ Greets Luxembourg CP Congress

AU281600 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Apr 88 p 6

[CTK report: "Congress of the Communist Party of Luxembourg"]

[Excerpts] Luxembourg (CTK)—The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Luxembourg opened in Differdange, a center of Luxembourg's steel industry, on Saturday [23 April]. [passage omitted]

On Sunday [24 April] Jaroslav Kvacek, who heads the CPCZ delegation to the congress, conveyed to the Luxembourg Communists a message from the CPCZ Central Committee. The message states that Czechoslovak Communists highly assess cooperation between the two parties and appreciate the principled positions held by the Communist Party of Luxembourg. The Communist Party of Luxembourg significantly contributes, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to the enhancement of unity between communist and workers parties. We hold in esteem your determined struggle for the rights of the Luxembourg working people, social progress, and peace in the world and fully support it, the message stresses. The congress ended on Sunday.

Leaders Public Appearances 7-17 Apr

AU220937 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague PRACE in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 8-18 April report the following public appearances by CSSR leaders (source, date, and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received Vaclav Pinzinger, the newly appointed CSSR ambassador to Morocco, in Prague on 7 April. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Apr 88 p 1)

Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech premier, and Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council, attended the ninth session of the Czech National Council in Prague on 11 April. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Apr 88 p 2)

Peter Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak premier, addressed a meeting of the Club of Communist Deputies of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava on 11 April. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Apr 88 p 2)

Josef Kempny addressed a meeting of the Club of Communist Deputies of the Czech National Council in Prague on 11 April. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Apr 88 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, paid a visit to the Skoda Works in Plzen on 13 April. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Apr 88 p 2)

Alois Indra spoke at a conference of Communist employees of the CSSR Interior Ministry in Prague on 13 April. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Apr 88 p 2)

Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Yusuf Faysal, general secretary of the Syrian Communist Party Central Committee, in Prague on 12 April. (Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Apr 88 p 1)

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended a solemn session of the expanded Scientific Council of the Charles University in Prague on 12 April. (Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Apr 88 p 1)

Peter Colotka presented Pavol Bahyl, Slovak deputy premier and chairman of the Slovak Planning Commission, the Order of the Republic on the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday, in Bratislava on 12 April. (Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Apr 88 p 1)

Alois Indra received Pavol Bahyl on the same occasion in Prague, date not given. (Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Apr 88 p 1)

Jan Fojtik received Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy, rector of the Moscow party college, in Prague on 12 April. (Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Apr 88 p 1)

Alois Indra received a Dutch parliamentary delegation headed by Joop J. P. de Boer in Prague on 12 April. (Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Apr 88 p 2)

Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, saw off a CPCZ Central Committee delegation headed by Frantisek Pitra, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, on 12 April at Prague Ruzyne Airport that was leaving for Cyprus to attend the funeral of Ezekias Papaioannou, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL). (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Apr 88 p 7)

Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committees, and Peter Colotka received Gerold Pletl, the new GDR consul general in Bratislava, in Bratislava on 13 April. (Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Apr 88 p 1)

Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received in Prague on 14 April on the occasion of the conference devoted to the magazine PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM Mohamed Harmel, general secretary of the Tunisian Communist Party Central Committee; Milko Balev,

BCP Central Committee Politburo member; and Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Apr 88 p 2)

Mikulas Beno attended the opening of the 16-21 April 19th Consumer Goods Fair in Brno. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Apr 88 p 1)

Gustav Husak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, received Frantisek Penazka, the new CSSR ambassador to Kenya, in Prague on 15 April. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Apr 88 p 1)

Frantisek Pitra returned from Cyprus on 15 April. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Apr 88 p 2)

Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received Jan Strucka, director of the Prague UN Information Center, in Prague on 15 April. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Apr 88 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, in his function as chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, attended talks with a delegation of the General Confederation of the Portuguese Working People (CGTP-IN) in Prague on 15 April. (Prague PRACE in Czech 16 Apr 88 p 1)

Josef Kempny paid a visit to the Brno Consumer Goods Fair on 17 April. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Apr 88 p 1)

CDU/CSU Ruehe Received by Officials

Meets With Honecker

LD281741 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1445 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin 28 Apr (ADN)—Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR Council of State chairman , received Volker Ruehe, CDU/CSU Bundestag group deputy chairman , at his request for a talk in the Council of State building today.

Volker Ruehe conveyed greetings from Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl; Alfred Dregger, CDU/CSU Bundestag group chairman; Theo Waigel, chairman of the CSU land group in the Bundestag; and Wolfgang Schauble, head of the Federal Chancellor's Office.

Erich Honecker pointed to the shared view expressed in the joint communique on his September 1987 official visit to the FRG that relations between the two German states must remain a stablizing factor for constructive East-West relations. He stressed the GDR's declared aim of achieving good relations between the European states in their common European home. The two German states must make special efforts for this flourishing and peaceful coexistence.

The partners in the talk acknowledged the positive results of international developments. Following the agreement on elimination of intermediate-range missiles there is a chance to achieve a turning point in international relations. Signing the treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles was an historic milestone. Erich Honecker stressed that the GDR will do everything possible to implement the treaty. It must not be allowed that the elimination of the intermediate-range missiles is compensated by new arming and modernization in other areas. Such efforts must be resolutely opposed.

There was agreement in noting that the first step toward disarmament must now be followed by others. Of most importance is the 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons with strict observance of the ABM Treaty, a chemical weapons and nuclear tests ban and, not least, serious measures for conventional disarmament.

On the issue of tactical nuclear weapons, Erich Honecker stressed that this affects the interests of the GDR and the FRG in particular. The GDR favors reducing the number of these weapons and finally eliminating them, to make both German states free of nuclear weapons. In this connection the initiative of the GDR and the CSSR for creation of a nuclear weapon-free corridor in Europe is particularly topical. Both German states should continue to play an active role in disarmament and detente. This corresponds to their special responsibility for peace and their most basic interests.

Volker Ruehe described Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG in September 1987 as an important step in the development of relations between the GDR and the FRG. The two politicians discussed problems that still exist and exchanged views on solving them.

Erich Honecker stressed that the GDR, starting from the results of his visit, will continue its policy toward the FRG directed toward safeguarding peace and practical cooperation. The important things are a constructive atmosphere and mutual interests. He emphasized the high degree of responsibility of parliamentarians for development of peaceful coexistence of peoples and states. The meeting took place in a businesslike and open atmosphere.

The following took part: State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrmann, head of the Chancery of the Chairman of the Council of State; Hans Schindler, acting director of the West Germany department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Franz Juergen Staab, deputy head of the FRG's Permanent Mission in the GDR; and Hans-Joachim Falenski, head of the Office of the Deputy Chairman of the CDU/CSU Bundestag group.

Agree on More Visits

LD281714 Hamburg DPA in German 1624 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—In a talk with Volker Ruehe, deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker agreed to a further increase in visits by GDR citizens to the Federal Republic. This was stated by Ruehe on Thursday after a 1 and 1/2 hour talk with Honecker in East Berlin.

The CDU politician said that in the first quarter of this year there had been some 362,000 trips by GDR citizens below pensionable age to the Federal Republic and West Berlin. For 1988 this could mean an increase to around 1.4 to 1.5 million trips to the West by GDR citizens who have not reached pensionable age. Ruehe added that Honecker categorically stated that this development is to continue. The CDU politician described this as a "good sign."

Ruehe stressed that, on the problem of emigration by GDR citizens, he pointed out to Honecker that humanitarian standards must be fulfilled. He had not, however, received any information on the issue.

Ruehe said his talks with Honecker, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, and Hermann Axen, the SED Politburo member responsible for international issues, showed that the GDR does not merely want to maintain the advances made in relations between the two German states, but also to expand them. He also mentioned the cancellation of a trip to the GDR by CDU/CSU deputies to Honecker, pointing out that there must be no discrimination against anyone in the political dialogue.

Confers With Axen

LD282117 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1548 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin 28 Apr (ADN)—Today Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received Volker Ruehe, deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU Bundestag group, for an exchange of views.

In the businesslike talk, the international situation, disarmament, and detente were discussed. The two politicians agreed that now peace must be made more secure through further disarmament measures. Following the advent of the INF Treaty there must be no pause in further reducing nuclear arms.

In this connection the partners in the talk expressed hope for positive results from the summit meeting between CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Reagan in Moscow in May.

Herman Axen explained the need for the proposals by Erich Honecker on the reduction and elimination of tactical nuclear weapons and the appeal addressed by the Warsaw Pact states' foreign ministers to the NATO states and all member states of the CSCE on 31 March 1988.

He stressed the idea of reducing conventional weapons as well as the topicality of the initiatives of the GDR and the CSSR on creating nuclear and chemical weapons-free zones in central Europe, which could be beneficial intermediate measures for further-reaching solutions.

Volker Ruehe explained the CDU/CSU Bundestag group's positions on security and disarmament issues. He acknowledged the positive development in relations between the two German states and stressed that further expansion of peaceful relations and goodneighborliness for the well-being of people must concentrate on what is feasible.

In an exchange of views on bilateral issues, the partners in the talk emphasized that the communique on the official visit to the FRG by Erich Honecker in September 1987 is a good basis for further progress in bilateral relations.

Gunter Rettner, candidate member of the SED Central Committee and director of a Central Committee department, took part in the talk. The deputy head of the FRG's Permanent Mission in the GDR, Franz Juergen Staab, was also present.

Talks With Fischer

LD282118 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1819 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin, 28 Apr (ADN)—Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, today received Volker Ruehe, deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU Bundestag group, for a talk.

During the exchange of views, Oskar Fischer explained the GDR's policy and initiatives for disarmament and for guaranteeing security, especially in Europe. The parties to the talk agreed to continue the political dialogue. This also corresponds to the responsibility of the two German states to do everything so that war never again emanates from German soil. With regard to the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, the need for a joint search for solutions on the basis of balancing interests was stressed.

FRG Health Minister Meets With Stoph

AU291339 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Apr 88 p 1

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [27 April] Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Prof Dr Rita Suessmuth, FRG minister of youth, family, women, and health, who is currently on an official visit to the GDR. Stoph paid tribute to Minister Suessmuth's visit as an expression of efforts to further normalize and develop GDR-FRG relations. He referred to the joint view expressed in the communique on the official visit to the FRG by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, that the relationship between the two German states is of utmost importance for safeguarding peace in Europe.

Willi Stoph reaffirmed the GDR's willingness to continue its contribution to a peaceful development and secure future for the people. The two sides concurred that the GDR and FRG, in view of their historical responsibility, should make special efforts in this spirit.

The chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers paid tribute to the development of relations between the GDR and FRG in the health sphere since the conclusion of the health agreement in 1974.

In explaining the development of the GDR, Willi Stoph pointed out the constitutional principle of socialist democracy, which is to settle matters for the citizens by directly cooperating with them and the social organizations.

The meeting was attended by Prof Dr Ludwig Mecklinger, GDR health minister, and Dr Hans Otto Braeutigam, head of the FRG Permanent Mission in the GDR.

Concludes Talks With Mecklinger

LD281819 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1526 GMT 28 Apr 88

Berlin, 28 Apr (ADN)—GDR Health Minister Professor Ludwig Mecklinger and Professor Rita Suessmuth, FRG federal minister of youth, family, women, and health

affairs, concluded their official talks in Berlin Thursday. They expressed their conviction that the meetings in the GDR would give new impetus to health sector cooperation between the two states, and thus contribute to implementing the 8 September 1987 joint communique on the official visit by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR Council of State chairman, to the FRG.

In the talks, Minister Mecklinger described the efforts of GDR health and social services workers to fulfill the decisions of the 11th party congress of the SED on health and social policy.

He explained the principles of the course of unifying economic and social policy, and the concomitant tasks for the health sector.

In an objective and constructive exchange of ideas, the sides reached agreement on the level and further development of relations between the two German states in the health sector, as well as in medical science. The health agreement which came into force in 1976 between the government of the GDR and the government of the FRG was praised as an important contribution in the further expansion and normalization of relations between the two states. Minister Mecklinger referred to the great responsibility which falls upon health sector policy-makers, doctors, and all members of the health sector as a result of their humanitarian commitment in the struggle for the preservation and securing of peace and the prevention of a world nuclear inferno. He gave details of the activities of doctors and middle-ranking medics in the "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" (IPPNW).

High praise was accorded in the talks to the contribution of the health agreement for the life and health of the citizens of the GDR and the FRG while staying in each other's states, in particular thanks to reciprocal free medical treatment, cross-border invalid transport, and the ensuring of dialysis for renal patients. The sides expressed their readiness to maintain and expand proven forms of collaboration. In this connection, they paid tribute to the results of mutually beneficial cooperation in respect to diabetes and AIDS.

They exchanged their views on opportunities for the expansion of cooperaiton in the field of cardiac, circulatory, and cancerous diseases. Attention is also to be paid in future to the exchange of experience concerning the requirements for training and further education of medical cadres. The existing health agreement forms a good basis for mutual study of experiences in professional health and social care.

The federal minister expressed thanks for the opportunity provided during her visit to conduct numerous talks with politicians and workers from GDR medical institutions. These were not about words, but rather about progress in carrying out the joint work which results from the health agreement. This was a contribution toward attaining the supreme target—cooperation and dialogue.

Fischer Speaks at UN Palestine Seminar

AU271940 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Apr 88 p 6

["Speech by Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, at the Regional Seminar of the United Nations" in East Berlin on 25 April: "For the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People"]

[Text] Mr Chairman, Mr Under Secretary General, ladies and gentlemen, esteemed guests:

On behalf of the GDR Government I extend a cordial welcome to you. My greeting goes to the representatives of the United Nations, of its member states, the representatives and experts of international governmental and nongovernmental organizations—to all those to whom solidarity and compassion for the fate of the Palestinian people are a matter of the heart.

The GDR regards it as a high honor to host the European regional seminar on the Palestinian issue in its capital, Berlin. We see this also as recognition of our work in the UN committee for the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

Active Solidarity With the Struggle of the Palestinian People [subhead]

Next year the socialist German state will celebrate the 40th anniversary of its founding. Its development has been and remains most closely linked to international solidarity that has been received and given in a variety of ways. Our people have consistently learned the lessons of history. Therefore, it is only too natural that our citizens have always felt solidarity with the struggle of the peoples to implement their rights, with their desire for peace, and their striving for a happy future. The Constitution says in this respect: "...the GDR supports the states and peoples who are fighting against imperialism and its colonial regimes and for national freedom and independence in their struggle for social progress...." (Article Six, paragraph Three)

This reflects the determined education to love peace and respect other people, to which racist hatred, chauvinism, and arrogance are alien. This is why the GDR people are pursuing active solidarity with the Palestinian people, who—under the leadership of the PLO—are carrying out a truly historic struggle for the implementation of their right to self-determination, including the right to form their own state. Guaranteeing this right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to a sovereign state is and remains the issue at the core of any just settlement of the problems in the Middle East.

With great concern we are observing Israel's crimes and the suffering of the Palestinian people; with great respect we are following the struggle against the terror exercised by the Israeli occupation forces. The cowardly assassination of Khalil al-Wazir, a leading member of the PLO and a tireless fighter for the rights of his people, has provoked lasting anger and outrage in our country. We again resolutely condemn Israel's actions which are against international law and not reconcilable with respect for human rights and dignity. The current situation in the territories occupied by Israel emphatically stresses how urgent a lasting, just Middle East settlement is. On behalf of the GDR I affirm here, ladies and gentlemen, our support for a speedy convocation of an international Middle East peace conference under UN aegis. It should be attended by all interested parties, including the PLO and Israel, and by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

It should work out binding settlements on all aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict. A peaceful—that is, political—solution can be reached only if all participants approach each other with good will and work constructively for the necessary balance of interests. That includes above all settling the Palestinian issue, Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied during the 1967 armed conflict, and international guarantees for the rights of all states in the region to peaceful coexistence and development, as envisaged by the corresponding UN resolutions.

This proposal met with a broad international response at the 42d UN General Assembly. Preparatory consultations using the opportunities provided by the UN Security Council would doubtlessly help speed up a corresponding settlement. Therefore, the GDR considers the USSR proposal to call a Security Council session at foreign minister level highly topical. Within the framework of its policy of dialogue, the GDR continues to make every effort to promote the process of understanding concerning a settlement of the Middle East conflict.

In the international arena it emphatically works to implement the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including—I affirm—the right to form an independent state. We have longstanding close relations with the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Since 1982 the PLO has been represented by an ambassador in our state.

We Expect Further Steps of Real Disarmament From the Moscow Summit [subhead]

Mr Chairman, it is more than 40 years since the United Nations supported—by passing Resolution 181—the formation of a Palestinian and an Israeli state. It is now time to remove the impediments in the way of the formation of a Palestinian state. We think that the international conditions for the realization of this task are favorable. With the signing of the agreement on the elimination of the intermediate-range nuclear missiles and shorter-range missiles of the USSR and the United States a real disarmament process has been started for the first time. This encourages the forces of reason and realism to intensify their efforts to improve the international situation and thus also to reach a political settlement to existing conflicts. We welcome the new summit meeting between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan in Moscow, scheduled for the end of next month, and expect further steps of real disarmament, thus leading toward an improvement of the international situation.

Last week we witnessed the contribution made to settling the situation concerning Afghanistan by constructive and collective steps within the framework of the "Geneva process." In our view these agreements also confirmed that a political settlement of conflicts is possible with due regard for the interests of all sides. At the same time the possibilities of the United Nations and its representatives are being proved in the constructive approach of all sides.

Today peace and security are the most important tasks in international politics. Peace is the basic condition for life!

Initiatives for a Peaceful, Safe European House [subhead]

There is no doubt that Europe has to play an important role; here there is the border line between the two most powerful military coalitions of the world; here about "twenty times" as many troops and armaments are concentrated as on other continents or in other regions. In addition to the joint initiatives within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, the GDR has also presented its own initiatives, such as the proposal to establish a zone free of chemical weapons in central Europe or the proposal for a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe. These proposals remain topical. In a few weeks an international meeting—called by our head of state, Erich Honecker—on nuclear-free zones will take place in Berlin. All these are efforts aimed at establishing a European house with corresponding house rules and, in addition, with more security, trust, and cooperation.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are waiting with great interest for the discussions and their results in the plenary session and in the three commissions. May I assure you that the government and the public of the GDR greatly appreciate the work of the Palestinian committee to lastingly motivate states and the international public to show solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people. I am sure that during your discussions important things will be worked out regarding a just peace in the Middle East.

As your host, the GDR hopes to have provided conditions for the smooth work of your Committee.

I wish you much success and thank you for your attention.

Seminar Continues

AU281121 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Apr 88 p 1

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ND)—A lasting and peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict can only be achieved if the Palestinian people are guaranteed the exercise of their right to self-determination and sovereignty. This idea was at the center of talks on Tuesday [26 April] at the Fourth UN European Regional Seminar on the Palestinian Issue at the Palace Hotel in Berlin.

Politicians, diplomats, journalists, and other representatives from public life in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America have gathered in the GDR capital for an exchange of experiences initiated by the United Nations under the slogan "For the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People." The significance of this conference is underlined by the presence of UN officials and representatives from international and national government and nongovernment organizations.

In an interview with GDR television, Labib Zuhdi al-Tarazi, PLO representative to the United Nations, stated that the Berlin conference will give new impetus to the solution of the Middle East problem and provide further initiatives, new information, and plans that support the idea and the requirement that peace must be brought about in the Middle East.

As happened during the opening ceremony, on Tuesday, too, several speakers from Europe and the Middle East described the Berlin meeting as an expression of the GDR's solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people and of its commitment to a just peace in this region. Erich Honecker pointed this out in his greetings message that was welcomed with strong applause. Tribute was paid to the GDR's efforts to promote, within the framework of its policy of dialogue, the process of negotiations aimed at improving the situation.

All speakers reaffirmed their sympathy and support for the courageous Palestinian men, women, and young people in the occupied territories who have now been struggling for 140 days against arbitrary rule by the occupiers. Shafiq al-Hawt, member of the Palestinian National Council, pointed out that this uprising demonstrates the necessity to convene an international Middle East peace conference, under UN auspices, with the participation on the basis of equal rights of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The Palestinians are determined to persistently continue this uprising, the PLO official stressed. Shafiq al-Hawt and other speakers stated that the consistent positive attitude of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on such a conference is well known. In this connection, Igor Khvorostyanyy, representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic at this seminar, called on the UN Security Council to immediately take efficient steps toward a Middle East peace conference.

CSSR representative Slavomir Novak submitted the proposal to hold a meeting in Prague in the near future of representatives from parties interested in a Middle East settlement in preparation for an international peace conference under UN auspices. [passage omitted]

Seminar Greets Honecker, 'Arafat

AU291341 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Apr 88 pp 1, 5

[ND report: "Thanks for GDR Solidarity With Palestinian People; Messages From the UN Seminar to Erich Honecker and Yasir 'Arafat"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Wednesday [27 April] the representatives from all over the world who are taking part in the current UN seminar on the Palestinian issue in Berlin, sent messages to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. The messages signed by the chairman of the seminar, Alexander Borg-Oliver, read as follows:

His Excellency, Mr Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council:

Your Excellency, the participants of the 19th UN seminar on the Palestinian issue, which is taking place in Berlin from 25 to 29 April 1988, would like to convey their sincere gratitude and respect for Your Excellency's message, in which you expressed support for the Palestinian cause and our seminar. We are deeply obliged to the GDR people and government for making possible the convening of this seminar, for the excellent preparations that were made, and the cordial hospitality that is being extended to all of us. The participants want to convey their respect for the continued support by the people and Government of the GDR, an active member of the Committee for the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, for the just cause of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative. The participants are convinced that the convening of an international Middle East peace conference in accordance with the corresponding UN resolutions will lead to the realization of a just, lasting, and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the core of which is the Palestinian issue. The participants in the seminar greatly appreciate the GDR's consistent support in this sphere.

Yours faithfully, Alexander Borg-Olivier, chairman of the seminar

The message to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, reads as follows:

We, the participants in the 19th UN seminar on the Palestinian issue, taking place in Berlin from 25 to 29 April 1988, would like to express our sincere satisfaction with your important and cordial message of support, which you addressed to the seminar. At a decisive moment in the fight against Israeli predominance and occupation, we would like to reaffirm our firm support for the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, for their inalienable national rights, including the right to return to Palestine, the right to self-determination, and the right to sovereignty. We hope that the results of this seminar will contribute to a lasting and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the core of which is the Palestinian issue. The Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories increasingly shows the urgent need to convene an international Middle East peace conference in accordance with the corresponding UN resolutions. Please accept our heartfelt sympathy on the killing of Khalil al-Wazir, deputy commander in chief of the Palestinian armed forces. We also convey our condolences to Al-Wazir's family.

Honecker Greets Najibullah on Anniversary

AU281133 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Apr 88 p 1

[ND report: "GDR Congratulations to Afghanistan; Message from Erich Honecker on 10th Anniversary of April Revolution"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following message to Dr Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan and general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan:

Esteemed Comrade Dr Najibullah, on behalf of the State Council and the people of the GDR as well as on my own behalf, I convey most cordial congratulations to you and the Afghan people on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution.

The GDR follows with fraternal sympathy the course of national reconciliation pursued by the Afghan leadership. The constructive policy of the Republic of Afghanistan has given an important impetus to the process of political settlement and formed a decisive element for the successful conclusion of the Geneva agreements. As a result, fundamental preconditions have been created in order to open the way to peace in the country. You may rest assured that the GDR will unreservedly support this course, which accords with the interests of the Afghan people and of all its neighbors, and the whole international community.

I take this opportunity to reaffirm the GDR's readiness to further strengthen and deepen the traditional friendly relations and the trusting cooperation between our two states and peoples.

Please accept my best wishes for good health, creative vigor, and well-being.

With socialist greetings, E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

On the same occasion, Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, congratulated Soltan Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Afghanistan.

Central Committee Greets Cypriot Party Leader

AU271433 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Apr 88 p 2

["Congratulations for AKEL General Secretary"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—The SED Central Committee has sent the following telegram, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to Dhimitrios Khristofias, general secretary of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL):

Esteemed Comrade Khristofias, on the occasion of your election as AKEL general secretary, I convey most cordial congratulations to you on behalf of the SED Central Committee and on my own behalf.

I wish you success and creative vigor for your responsible activity at the head of the party.

With communist greetings, SED Central Committee, E. Honecker, general secretary

Sindermann Meets With Portuguese Politicians

LD281830 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1534 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Lisbon, 28 Apr (ADN)—In Lisbon today, the GDR People's Chamber delegation led by Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, met with members of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Portuguese parliament for an exchange of views. The two sides discussed basic foreign policy issues and aspects of the two states' international and national policies.

Horst Sindermann noted that the talks conducted so far by the People's Chamber delegation demonstrated that the GDR and Portugal agree in their striving for the preservation and strengthening of peace. He assessed the present international situation, which allows for optimism as the result of substantial peace initiatives.

It is true that various events have shown that this trend is not yet irreversible. But real possibilities exist for reason and realism to prevail, Sindermann said. One should not allow oneself to be swayed from the conviction that the policy of confrontation must be replaced by the policy of dialogue.

Chairman of the Commission Dias Loareiro (PSD) [Social Democratic Party], expressed concern about regions of tensions in the world, especially in southern Africa, stressing that negotiated solutions must be strived for.

Commission members of other parties spoke in favor of further expanding relations between the two countries' parliaments. An important task in relations among states is to ensure that a predictable policy is pursued.

Honecker Receives New Japanese, SRV Envoys
LD272050 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1342 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin, 27 Apr (ADN)—This must be a year of disarmament. The first nuclear disarmament agreement of 11 December 1987 must be followed by others which contribute to the dismantling of nuclear weapons, to the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments, and thus to the consolidation of international security. This was emphasized by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman, in Berlin on Wednesday at an accreditation talk with Japanese Ambassador Hirokazu Arai.

The two interlocutors affirmed their states' interest in further shaping political dialogue and bilateral cooperation to the benefit of both peoples and as a contribution to increasing international stability and securing peace.

At a discussion between Erich Honecker and Vietnamese Ambassador Ta Huu Canh, marking the latter's accreditation on the same day, the interlocutors expressed their belief that the fraternal relations between the parties, states, and peoples will continue to develop in the interest of both peoples and in the interest of peace and socialism. Erich Honecker gave an assurance that the GDR will continue to do everything to deepen friendly beneficial cooperation and to support the fraternal Vietnamese people in socialist construction.

FDGB National Executive Council Concludes
AU271943 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Apr 88 pp 1-2

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ND/ADN)—Trends and results of socialist competition during the first months of this year show that in evaluating Comrade Honecker's speech to the first secretaries of the [illegible] leaderships, the working people have turned their workplaces in combines, enterprises, and institutions into combat stations for peace. This assessment was given by the FDGB National Executive Council, which held its Fifth Session in Berlin on Monday [25 April] under the leadership of Chairman Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo.

The main goals of the current efforts are the highest yields in science and technology and their rapid economic application in production and sale, Harald Buehl, Presidium member and secretary of the FDGB National Executive Council, stressed in his report to the Presidium. The most important factors in successfully shaping competition include political leadership, clear economic tasks, and a creative atmosphere that enhances the working people's commitment to work and their readiness to assume risks.

It is the trade union's most important task to carry out socialist rationalization and the application of key technologies with the comprehensive participation of the working people. In the same way as the trade unions are committed to improving working and living conditions, they work for the further development of the innovators' movement, for the production of more high-quality goods, for the economical use of energy, and lower overall production costs. Harald Buehl assessed the discussion about the 25,000 collective agreements concluded for 1988 as another expression of the living and well-functioning socialist democracy. [passage omitted]

In his closing speech Harry Tisch pointed out that the working people in the towns and throughout the country will participate in this year's May Day rally with results that are consistent with the slogan "High achievements for the well-being of the people and for peace—everything for the implementation of the 11th SED Congress resolutions!" At the same time the report and discussion left no doubt that purposeful work will also be required in the future in order to continue to fulfill this year's plan in a steady and product-oriented manner and to realize the related competition projects.

To bring this about, the trade unions' work must become even more effective, the FDGB chairman emphasized. As was agreed at the 11th FDGB Congress, the trade union's representation of interests starts with the production of material goods. "Through socialist competition and its results, we are making an important contribution to implementing the SED's economic strategy and, in the course of the unity of economic and social policy, are concentrating our creative efforts on firmly linking the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism." From this, Harry Tisch derived increased demands regarding the meetings of trade union members during which not only competition-related and economic problems should be discussed but also matters that affect the lives of the people, their work, and the struggles of our time.

At the close of the session, Kurt Graser was elected as a member of the National Executive Council Presidium and confirmed in his position as director of the Financial and Economic Administration attached to the FDGB National Executive Council.

Grosz Interviewed on Party Draft Document

LD281537 Budapest MTI in English
1243 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 28 (MTI)—The Thursday issue of "MAGYAR HIRLAP" carries a lengthy interview with Prime Minister Karoly Grosz.

Concerning the debate on the draft policy statement of the national party conference, Karoly Grosz stresses the necessity of creating a new consensus, a new national unity. 'The debates will continue as the issues have not yet been clarified sufficiently. It is possible to reach a comprehensive agreement on some issues, while in other cases it is impossible. Thus the debates will reproduce themselves and a new alliance may be created on a higher level, with the standpoints approaching to one another.'

The prime minister recalls the remark voiced frequently in the debate that the party document is inconsistent. 'I think there is some confusion here,' Karoly Grosz says. 'They demand us to be more consistent, but if we met this demand, if we did everything that comes from our conclusions, all the timely tasks we have to face, this would create a great chaos in a moment and even our grandchildren would be unable to put things in order.

'In my opinion, we can and should only be demanded to be consistent in a way that if we created and accepted compromises between the necessary and the possible, we should also implement them.' As an example, the prime minister enumerated some figures of central subsidies and mentioned that some 50 per cent of the profit generated in the productive sphere is rechannelled to production. 'Could we say that this practice should be stopped immediately? Where would this lead?', Karoly Grosz asks. 'This would lead to an economic collapse. The country does not require such consistency. What we need is the consistent and gradual implementation of a carefully deliberated and planned programme.'

Concerning the streamlining of the system of political institutions, the prime minister stresses 'I think there will be a single party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, in Hungary for a long period. Although a multi-party system can be established historically, in the long run, I cannot conceive more parties under the current social and political conditions of Hungary. Therefore I exclude the possibility of a multi-party structure from the system of political institutions. I hold it necessary to modernize the operation of the party. I have in mind a uniform trade union which is not independent but autonomous, namely I do not conceive more trade unions. I have in mind a uniform youth union in which the various interests of the youth are articulated. In my opinion, parliament should be in charge of legislation and supervision, I hold it desirable and appropriate for parliament to supervise the government and the social processes. I consider parliamentary government an infeasible road in Hungary.

'We have a period behind us, a period with great achievements but accumulated tensions and shortcomings as well. Now we have to concentrate on easing these tensions rather than emphasizing the achievements. Consequently, we need people who are able to handle the conflicts,' Karoly Grosz says. Last but not least, politicians should be able to withdraw.

'There is another factor which, I think, does not follow from the situation but from the general nature of biological laws. One can get tired in the everyday struggle and it may also happen that the load-bearing capacity of people decreases,' Karoly Grosz says.

Karoly Grosz qualified the economic achievements of the first three months of the year as favourable, but he presumes that success was also also due to factors 'which we do not yet see today.' He recalls 'although the government's appeal calling upon the enterprises to show self-restraint so that the planned rate of inflation should be exceeded first provoked smile, it met with an extremely large number of positive answers. But who could foretell today how long this attitude prevails, whether something will happen that compels the enterprises to raise prices, contrary to their endeavours?' The prime minister stressed that the general value-added tax has disturbed some processes and created disproportions in some fields. It is obviously a pressing necessity to take some measures in some issues under special evaluation.

The prime minister spoke in detail about the foreign evaluation of Hungary's situation. 'Our endeavours are generally followed with understanding, support and sympathy. It is added, however, that the genuine results cannot yet be seen. Many foreigners are unable to understand what burdens are connected with restructuring. They do not understand why the different leaders assess the situation and set the direction of advance differently. This is due to the complicated situation, the unclarified assessment of the situation, and mainly the absence of the methodology of a way-out."

'According to my experience, the socialist countries are particularly prepared to support us. They want to help us, they are partners to our initiatives. This was unambiguously confirmed by those whom I met. I did not meet everyone so I would not qualify the intentions of those with whom I have not talked about ths topic.

'I experienced great sympathy and readiness for cooperation among our Western partners, too. They are less worried about our debt stock.' On this score Karoly Grosz quoted a 'well-known West European politician' as saying, 'it is not the size of your debts that matters. The question is how you work, and how dynamically your economy develops. If your economy shows growing dynamism, you will be able to cope with the debt burden'.

Concerning the news that Budapest will be the venue of a Soviet-American summit this year, Karoly Grosz said that he had learnt the news from the statement of the Foreign Ministry spokesman. No one has turned to the government with a proposal of this kind, nor were any exploratory talks, usual in diplomacy, on the topic. Karoly Grosz stressed, 'if the Hungarian Government were asked to host the meeting, it would hold it an honour and make every effort to create the most appropriate conditions.'

In the last part of the interview Karoly Grosz spoke of his forthcoming visit to Great Britain. He said that he greatly respected the British prime minister and appreciated her economic policy decisions aimed at modernizing the British economy. Karoly Grosz recalled that he would be the first Hungarian prime minister to pay an official visit to Britain since the Second World War. 'It is not the recognition of the prime minister but that of a whole period that the British Government has invited and will receive the Hungarian prime minister.'

Karoly Grosz says, 'Nowadays the world press gives extremely correct and matter-of-fact reports on the Hungarian processes, successes and errors alike.' Therefore, during trips abroad he does not have 'to repaint the image formed of Hungarian reality'.

He pointed out, 'We are said, and not completely without reason, to look for opportunities of economic cooperation mainly with the German-speaking countries, the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria. This is true, but I would like to add that this is not contrary to our endeavour to create very close cooperation with other economic and political powers of Western Europe. Due to our historical past and objective situation, our thinking is undoubtedly European. We would like to open the gates wider, and this is now also on the agenda,' Karoly Grosz said in the interview to "MAGYAR HIRLAP".

PPF Position on Draft Policy Document

AU291037 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 23 Apr 88 p 3

[PPF "Position" on the MSZMP Draft Policy Statement]

[Text] At the request of the MSZMP Central Committee, the National PPF Presidium held a debate on the MSZMP draft policy statement for the coming national party conference. By using the political, social, and economic experiences which have accumulated in the PPF and on the basis of a detailed debate, the Presidium has formulated its position.

The PPF welcomes and supports the party's endeavors toward a comprehensive economic, social, and political reform. In agreement with the draft policy statement, the PPF considers it important that these endeavors should be based on renewing the internal relations, policy, and working method of the party. We declare that the state and the style of work of the leading political force, the party, decisivly affect and determine the activities of the whole of society and its capacity to develop. Therefore, nonparty members also have an interest in the renewal of the party and its public activities. The PPF Presidium maintains that, in its present form and with its overgeneralized conclusions, the document submitted for the debate does not yet satisfy the new requirements.

In the present difficult situation of the country it is indispensable to make a thorough analysis of the path and the causes that have brought us to this point. Without this analysis, neither the party nor our society will be able to protect themselves from mistaken conclusions and false judgements. General consensus cannot be renewed and the human and political foundations for the inevitable change cannot be laid without being aware of the reasons for our situation and making these reasons public. The political conditions for development can only be established by a society that acts in concert and also accepts difficulties with understanding.

It will be possible to restore our confidence, which has been shattered by mistakes, only when citizens receive legal guarantees that supervision of the exercise of power will be supervised after reforming the system of political institutions. It is particularly important to accurately define the separate responsibilities of the party and of the power of the state, and to establish mechanisms to eliminate voluntary decisions in both the activities of the party and in legislation. Public opinion also decisively requires that the necessary conditions concerning personnel be met for the process of development.

It is also necessary to comprehensively reassess the functioning of the state and appropriately reshape the publicly announced reform endeavors. Duty, democracy, and professionalism should be the basic principle to guide the theory and practice of state administration. In the course of preparing regulations which concern the entire population, the citizens must be given substantial opportunities to state their opinions and to be informed about how their views have been received and used. We are calling for the establishment of referendums as an institution under law. When the institution of a local referendum is established, similar principles should be implemented in regulations concerning individual population groups and communities.

The National PPF Presidium advocates the elaboration of a new constitution and a new suffrage law, and elaborate the law on the councils and on associations. It also endorses the establishment of an administrative court and a constitutional law court.

The Presidium considers it necessary to regulate civil rights by legislation in a more accurate manner than before, and to consistently implement these rights. Providing opportunities for the development of people's

creative initiatives is essentially important for the development of our socialist society. This is why we think that it is important to develop openness in public life. All our experiences demonstrate that openness is a force which is the most effective means of preventing mistakes and wrong decisions, and which contributes to the implementation of laws and decisions that promote public goals.

Unity of words and actions is very important in politics and in the entire life of our society. This is what facilitates the implementation of well-defined social programs.

Our social welfare policy requires more cautious and efficient planning. The lack of clarity which, even today, is characteristic of the relations between social policy and economy cannot be further maintained. We are convinced that it is not possible to eliminate our economic difficulties and establish an efficient economy without a social policy which takes into consideration human values and security of existence.

The part of the draft policy statement devoted to the PPF is inadequate and does not match the role of the PPF, and particularly its future tasks. In principle, this section represents a regression, even in comparison with previous declarations, because it expects the PPF to convey a unidirectional political will. The PPF would not receive the public support it needs if this role were allocated to it; and in the absence of public support, there would be no meaning to its existence.

If the role of the PPF is not institutionalized, the policy of alliance and the true partnership between party and nonparty members will have no validity, and there will be no forum for consensus. No one can ignore the fact that nonparty members comprise the majority of our society, and they do not want to become second-rate citizens in the area of public and political opportunities, either. The PPF has tried to adapt itself to these requirements. We should continue our activity along these lines.

The PPF is a political gathering under party guidance in which the party is also present. As such, in the future it would like to work as the constitutional institution of the policy of alliance and consensus. However, the PPF regards this role as an independent political task that can be accomplished by establishing the PPF's autonomy. This is why the PPF undertakes to work out the necessary principles and conditions to renew itself, and to do so with consideration for the resolutions that will be adopted by the party conference and which will, hopefully, bring about a favorable political change.

Keseru Assesses Preconference Debates

AU290733 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 Apr 88 p 1

[Editorial by Erno Keseru: "Advice for the Journey"]

[Text] The exchange of views about the draft policy statement of the party conference that has been taking place in the mass organizations and in the party committees was indeed characterized by passions and often over-excitement. This is not the result of a subjective and internal impulse, or some kind of showing off, but it derives from the need to face reality honestly, from the intention to improve things, and from willingness to overcome a feeling of helplessness.

In previous years and decades, reporting on similar county and town council meetings, I myself used to write repeatedly that the delegates would be coming to the high-level forum with full bags as they had received a lot of advice and ammunition for the journey. This time, there is not enough room in some bags for the amount of advice and ammunition the delegates are carrying, and one could fill an entire closet with observations and proposals. We are sailing on an ocean of problems, and tough tones are therefore justified, and so are sometimes even the passionate and rude formulations.

In spite of extremist opinions in some places, these debates help to improve the general mood because they aim to reveal our problems and search for an answer to the questions of how to work and what to do for the benefit of change. It is worth pondering this issue a little. The speeches and observations made at the meetings were much more concrete and sharp so long as they were describing mistakes and failures. The formulations become more general and hesitant, however, when they refer to concrete tasks and when they ought to have specified ways to put the nice principles into practice. In this respect, most of these observations do not exceed the draft policy statement, which is also too general in many respects.

This problem has nothing to do with courage or tactics. It is simply that reforming the system of concepts that drives society and the economy needs time and it can be worked out only by relying on the results of scientific and intellectual workshops. Unfortunately, quite a few spontaneous or deliberately started processes nowadays lack an adequate ideological basis. Therefore, one can agree with the opinion that "one of the main obstacles hindering both the theoretical and practical progress today is the fact that there are too many unclear issues concerning the basic values of the socialist society as well as the direction and content of progress."

The assertion of personal responsibility, for example, is not only a matter of decision, but it is related to the structure of party and state guidance and to the real and pseudo-independence of the enterprises and institutions. The shortcomings in cadre policy cannot be eliminated by separating them from the issue of the cadre policy as a whole. When the system of institutions is renewed, there must be a parallel renewal of attitude too, and we must do away with various bad habits. For example, the superiority of collective leadership and the sacredness of collective wisdom have become so ingrained in us in the past decades that we kept speaking only in the plural form on a national scale: Results were our results, and

mistakes were made by us. Thus, there was nobody who could be named as being responsible for anything anywhere. To institute changes, we must strengthen public control and bring greater openness to the decisionmaking process, and this is also related to ideological and methodological issues.

It is a justified criticism, for example, that the lack of clarity in the relations between social policy and the economy hinder, in many respects, the assertion of social justice. Certain ideas have already appeared as to how to advance in this issue, and there are also other ideas that are currently being formulated on this issue. No doubt, it would only cause more damage than good if we forced the introduction of crude regulations and methods whose effects have not yet been tested; at the same time, however, marking time can also damage the general mood.

The majority of political and economic leaders also share the view today that the market should play a considerably greater role under socialist conditions too, and it should strengthen individual interest. But then, we must also take into consideration the effects of the situation when manpower starts to behave as a product in Hungary too. How will public opinion react when private entrepreneurs, recognizing their importance in society, will also considerably increase their incomes while circulating their capital? In other words, how should we advance? It seems that those who claim that here one must combine the economic management methods of the developed capitalist countries with socialist basic values are in favor of the "golden middle course." It is not easy to come to a decision because a middle course can be easily attacked both from the right and the left.

People are justified in having great expectations today, but their impatience is not justified, because the shaping and implementation of the many observations and proposals made during the debates on the draft policy statement are tasks for a period of time beyond the upcoming party conference in May.

We are in the middle of things, many things have started, and there are also many tasks that have been only outlined. To avoid falling into the trap of political adventurism, we need to reveal the roots of our previous mistakes and blunders using scientific thoroughness, or in other words in a precise way. We need to differentiate clearly between the compulsory measures that resulted inevitably from our level of development and from external circumstances beyond our control and measures that were taken as a result of subjective leadership decisions, measures for which we must blame incompetence or the "socialist lobbying."

Our short-term tasks for 1 or 2 years can already be clearly formulated today, and a short-term program of prospects for the citizens can already be worked out today. The party conference could become a milestone in restoring confidence and renewing consensus, and the party can count on the public and mass organizations as helping partners in this political public activity. This cooperation will be fruitful particularly if the mass organizations obtain the essential latitude [jogositvanyok] they are seeking. The regional meetings on the party document held by the PPF in a creative atmosphere in five towns, and the policy statement of the PPF Presidium, which also contains critical observations, signal a readiness for this cooperation. According to the policy statement, "the PPF wishes to continue to work in the future as a political movement that includes the party and is led by the party and as a constitutional institution of the policy of alliance and of general consensus."

Official on Streamlining Elections

AU271427 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Apr 88 p 5

[Interview with Dr Matyas Budzsaklia, deputy director of the Public Administration and Administration Department of the MSZMP Central Committee, by Gyorgy Acs: "Opinions on the Draft Policy Statement—Who Can Propose Candidates?"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The professional and political preparations toward modifying a law have perhaps never been more comprehensive than the preparations now under way to modify the electoral law. Work started immediately after the 1985 elections. The first version of the proposal was drafted on the basis of the experiences and ideas of politicians, scientists, well-prepared, practical professional people, bodies, and working committees. Since its preparation, this version has been debated several times, and it has also been developing ever since then. After the necessary political decision is made, probably this very year, work will begin on working out a draft bill. We interviewed Dr Matyas Budzsaklia on the expected changes.

[Acs] One can read in the draft party position published for the coming party conference that "further developing the law on our electoral system should enable various organizations, civilian communities, bodies that represent interests, and working organizations to genuinely participate in nominating the candidates." Should we modify only the procedure of nominating the candidates?

[Budzsaklia] The number of issues that have to be modified is really larger than this, but we do not have to modify the entire electoral system. In fact, the system was further elaborated in 1983. The 1985 elections, which were politically successful, were held on the basis of this development. [passage omitted]

[Acs] Let us see; what happens prior to the nomination meeting?

[Budzsaklia] The opportunities to propose candidates are at present very great, and almost everyone can have ideas about who should be a candidate.

[Acs] That is, from among those who participate in the nomination meeting.

[Budzsaklia] Yes. The electorate themselves can also have ideas about who should be candidates, but representatives of collectives and organizations can also attend. The opportunities for initiative are practically unlimited. The process of thinking about which people are considered to be potential representatives starts well before the opening of the nomination meetings. However, citizens are informed of the results of this process—the names of people—only at the nomination meetings. Thus, recently they also had to make decisions on proposals which, on the one hand, had been evaluated in advance and, on the other hand, were put forward spontaneously. I hope it is not necessary to prove that this way is not a good one.

[Acs] Is this what you would like to change?

[Budzsaklia] Yes; because although even 50 candidates can be proposed at a nomination meeting, the meeting would be unable to handle even a smaller number of proposals. These should be prepared publicly or, if you like, they should be made predictable. The electorate should not be excluded from this process. On the contrary! We are thinking about the most suitable way to select National Assembly deputies in advance and to enumerate the reasons for and against nominating them. There is no final view on this issue as yet, but it seems that, with the cooperation of the PPF, we should establish a preparatory board (assembly, committee) in every electoral district, a board which would accept the registration of people considered to be suitable candidates.

[Acs] Would this put an end to the spontaneous proposing of candidates? According to what I know, this is not possible anywhere else.

[Budzsaklia] To the best of my knowledge, the practice of proposing candidates at nomination meetings exists only in Hungary. Well, there is no reason for us to act differently. But we should make the process predictable and public. [passage omitted]

[Acs] And how will the nomination meetings develop, how many meetings will we have to hold?

[Budzsaklia] We will probably recommend that at least three meetings be held in every district. All the people that were proposed by the collectives should be introduced at the nomination meetings. However, endless voting would be inexpedient. Therefore we will certainly have to think carefully about defining in each electoral district the collectives, workplaces, social institutions, and other associations of citizens that will have to be given the right to propose candidates. [passage omitted]

[Acs] Does the party want to nominate its own candidates?

[Budzsaklia] An ongoing debate is held on this subject, because if everyone can propose a candidate, why should the party not be able to do so? But then another question arises. Should we differentiate between party members and nonparty members? Because there will surely be a considerable number of party members among the candidates proposed by other people. Candidates in countries with multiparty systems are nominated by the parties themselves. In Hungary, candidates are not nominated by the party, or even by the PPF (except the candidates of the PPF on the national list).

As has already been mentioned, this right belongs to the nomination meetings of the electorate. Therefore, it is quite certain that none of the nominees or candidates in the electoral districts will be proposed directly by the party. [passage omitted]

[Acs] Will the requirement to put forward at least two nominees stay in effect?

[Budzsaklia] Yes, this requirement will stay in effect, but it seems that we will need an upper limit, too; because it would not be desirable to establish a small lists of candidates in every electoral district. According to present ideas, the upper limit would be five candidates. That is, the voters will have to vote on the proposals put forward at the nomination meetings, and the five nominees receiving the largest number of votes will be put on the list of candidates. [passage omitted]

[Acs] Will there be changes in the national list of candidates?

[Budzsaklia] Many places urge a change which will make the very reasons for the creation of this list clearer and more understandable for everyone. People should know why every candidate is on the list, and whom he represents. It is conceivable that the list can be made more representative, and that the policy of alliance can be expressed more clearly without increasing the number of candidates. However, it is also possible that these can only be accomplished by means of a larger list. [passage omitted]

Interministerial Committee on Foreign Citizens

AU281447 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Apr 88 p 7

[Report by Gyula Fejer: "Interministerial State Committee—Efforts and Multifaceted Concern," under the rubric: "Who Is Providing Help, Where, and How?—On the Issue of Romanian Citizens Temporarily Staying in Hungary"]

[Text] Dr Boltan Gal, deputy minister of interior and chairman of the interministerial state committee dealing with the affairs of foreign citizens temporarily staying in Hungary, told our correspondent the following on the tasks of the committee:

"So far Hungarian police authorities have issued more than 2,500 temporary residence permits to Romanian citizens. Every day, however, several hundred people make inquiries at police stations, local councils, the Red Cross, and churches about opportunities for extended

residence and settlement. Unfortunately a large number of people are always considering staying in Hungary because they think this is the solution to their problems. One should consider an action like this thoroughly because the people who have been here a while longer have certain problems which are typical of a situation like this. Concerns about being away from one's family are among these problems; however, we can promise no quick solutions. Many people report that relations between a potential settler and his host deteriorate, and then the settler is soon left without an apartment. Quite often his workplace does not meet his expectations. Due to the concern demonstrated by state and public organs, ways have been developed to enable a person in need to obtain social welfare, an opportunity to work, and temporary housing. The majority of these burdens is accepted by the state and in this it cooperates closely with public organs and churches, which are indeed good partners. But taking care of the people concerned involves more than providing opportunities for a job and housing. To contribute to their integration, we must look after them continuously. In this respect, the Interministerial State Committee is counting on help from KISZ and the trade unions; even potential settlers can be recruited by these organizations."

Dr Zoltan Gal also said that Romanians and people of other nationalities are also among the people who intend to stay temporarily; the settling of their affairs is much more difficult, if only because they do not speak Hungarian. The interministerial committee naturally also considers finding solutions to the problems of people whose mother tongue is not Hungarian is part of its responsibility. In the near future, the committee will draw up regulations on subsidies from the Settlement Fund, which amounts to 300 million forints, and then try to obtain government approval for them. Under the present economic conditions, it will be necessary to make deliberate use of even the smallest amount of money.

Dr Zoltan Gal said the following: "There are also extremist opinions about this problem in society. On the one hand, people criticize us for looking after the affairs of the people who are staying in Hungary and for trying to solve their difficulties. On the other hand, other people think that in comparison, every other difficulty is secondary to this one. I think that both views are wrong. Thus, on the basis of international norms, human rights, and Lenin's national minority policy—which inevitably is the frame of reference for the socialist countries—we raise the issue of Hungarians living beyond our borders, because this issue also has an imvact on our domestic policy.

Officials Discuss Consular Ties With U.S.

LD281517 Budapest MTI in English
1441 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 28 (MTI)—Leaders of the Foreign Ministry Consular Services of the Hungarian People's Republic and the United States of America held a consultation in Budapest April 25-26. The discussions covered the present situation of consular relations between the two countries and possibilities for development.

ADN: SED's Hager Confers With MSZMP's Pal

LD282003 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1627 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest 28 Apr (ADN)—Talks between Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Lenard Pal, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, began in the MSZMP building in Budapest today.

During the trust-filled meeting, the two politicians briefed each other on the work of the SED and the MSZMP aimed at strengthening socialism in their countries and the realization of the comprehensive peace program of the socialist community of states.

Based on the speech by Erich Honecker to the first secretaries of SED district [kreis] executives, Kurt Hager presented the tasks in the complex implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, particularly in science, education, and culture in the GDR.

The Hungarian politician gave details of the MSZMP's current activities in preparation for the national conference of the party, touching on tasks and measures for the realization of Hungary's program of socioeconomic development. Kurt Hager and Lenard Pal paid tribute to the excellent level of bilateria cooperation in the fields discussed, and agreed in stating that many chances exist for the further expansion of close relations.

During the day, Kurt Hager met with Gyorgy Aczel, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and director of the Social Sciences Institute of the MSZMP Central Committee.

This afternoon, in the "Meriklon" research and production center on the outskirts of the capital, founded by the Academy of Sciences and the Rozmaring agricultural cooperative, Kurt Hager acquainted himself with the high level of Hungarian biotechnology and its application in agriculture. During the tour of the laboratory, the GDR politician was shown the latest processes and the top results in the field of cell and tissue culture. This includes a virus-free potato seed, by means of which "Meriklon" is making a contribution to the realization of the CEMA complex program.

Grosz Receives UK Ambassador

LD281903 Budapest MTI in English
1705 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 28 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, president of the Hungarian Council of Ministers saw Leonard Appleyard, the ambassador of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on Thursday. The meeting took place at the request of the ambassador.

Bulgaria's Mladenov Arrives on Official Visit

LD282309 Warsaw PAP in English
1925 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April, 28—Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BKP) and Bulgaria's Minister for Foreign Affairs Petur Mladenov arrived in Poland today for an official friendly visit.

His arrival in Poland takes place a month before the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between Poland and Bulgaria which became a foundation of mutual cooperation and friendship.

The Bulgarian foreign minister was welcomed at the Warsaw Okecie Airport by PUWP CC Political Bureau member and Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski.

Immediately after the welcoming ceremony, Petur Mladenov laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier here. Next, he met with Marian Orzechowski at the Foreign Ministry here.

Also at the Foreign Ministry and co-chaired by the two diplomatic heads, the first round of Polish-Bulgarian plenary talks was held.

Asked to comment on the talks, the foreign ministry spokesman said that they had focused upon bilateral relations, and particularly on political, economic, cultural and scientific ones, although also discussed were tourist traffic and collaboration between the two states within the CMEA.

The hitherto state of affairs in bilateral relations was found to be very good, the spokesman said, but the major point made here was what could be done in future to make their development more relevant to the challenges both countries faced due to the restructuring and transformations ongoing within the socialist community as well as to the evolution of East-West relations.

Minister Mladenov invited Marian Orzechowski to pay a visit to Bulgaria.

The second round of Polish-Bulgarian talks is expected to deal chiefly with international problems.

Also today, Bulgaria's foreign minister was received by Poland's Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski.

Steelworkers Strike Enters Third Day 28 Apr

Government Warns of 'Radical Measures'

AU281422 Paris AFP in English
1405 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 28 (AFP)—Labour leaders called a stoppage at another steelworks in Poland on Thursday, as the authorities moved to stifle the country's growing industrial unrest.

The government warned Thursday of "radical measures" to end the strike over pay and conditions which began Tuesday at the giant steelworks in Nowa Huta, southern Poland, which employs 30,000 workers.

A local committee of the banned trade union Solidarity called for the 25,000 workers at the Stalowa-Wola steelworks in central Poland to down tools Friday, an opposition organizer said here.

Zbigniew Romaszewski told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that the committee had distributed leaflets at the steelworks calling a strike.

Workers at Nowa Huta meanwhile said they had the support of a number of other plants up and down the country.

Eight leaders of the strike had been summoned to a police station for questioning, the wife of one of them said.

The Communist Party newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU warned Thursday that leaders of the "illegal" strike at the Lenin steelworks, which employs 20,000 workers, "must be prepared to suffer the consequences laid down by the law". Under the law, they can be jailed for up to three years.

A communique published in the wake of Wednesday's meeting of the consultative council, headed by Polish leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski, warned that "recently expressed wage claims undermine the future of the country and of its people".

At the steelworks, management handed out individual questionnaires to workers Wednesday night asking them whether they "were taking part in the strike knowing that it was illegal", a well-informed local source said.

The strike committee, headed by former Solidarity union activists, has called on workers not to fill in the questionnaire.

Strikers said Thursday they had received many messages of support from other workers saying they were prepared to down tools in sympathy.

Messages of support came from the Fiat-Polski car factory which employs 28,000 in Bielsko-Biala, southern Poland, and from representatives of 15,000 blast-furnace workers in Ostrowiec-Swietokrzyski, central Poland, strikers said.

Two coal pits from the southern Katowice field were also said to have expressed support.

No fresh talks were scheduled Thursday between management and the strikers in Nowa Huta.

Management has offered to discuss the workers' wage claims, but not to reinstate sacked union militants.

The strikers are demanding pay rises of 12,000 zlotys (20 dollars) per month to offset massive price increases introduced this year, and a pledge not to retaliate later against strikers.

The plant management also warned strike leaders after a night of unsuccessful negotiations, that it could no longer guarantee their safety. Jacek Huron, a leading opposition figure in Poland, told AFP Thursday that, if authorities resorted to force, they would slow down the workers' movement but would worsen the social crisis in the country.

Unconfirmed reports said Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda, who is reputed as a proponent of tight-fisted economic policies, had gone early Thursday to Nowa Huta to try to settle the conflict.

The strike at Nowa Huta is the second in Poland this week.

However a stoppage Monday by public transport workers at Bydgoszcz in western Poland was speedily settled. Most of the Bydgoszcz strikers were members of the official OPPZ union.

Mediation Talks Reported

LD281508 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1420 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] In the pay dispute between a section of the workforce of the Lenin Steelworks and the management, mediation has been undertaken by the independent, Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] of the employees of the metallurgical combine, the Lenin steelworks. The negotiations are continuing.

Krakow Students Hold Support Rally

LD281618 Hamburg DPA in German 1548 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Krakow (DPA)—About 300 students held a rally in support of the striking workers at the Nowa Huta steel mill in Krakow today. They attached a number of posters to the railings of Krakow University and distributed leaflets. The large police presence cut off the demonstrators from the Market Square and forced them into a side street. A number of students were temporarily arrested. The police did not, however, use force.

Warsaw TV: Stoppage Illegal

LD281839 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] The Krakow voivodship prosecutor, after familiarizing himself with the situation in some departments of the Lenin steelworks, stated today that the work stoppage was not in accordance with the law of 8 October 1982, which defines the principles and means of conducting collective disputes as well as the right to strike. Following this, the managing director of the works defined the stoppages which had arisen in some of the departments of the steelworks as contrary to the obligatory provisions of the law as well as the interests of the works and its personnel. At the same time, the works director started talks with the independent, self-governing Trade Union of the Employees of the Metallurgical Combine of the Lenin steelworks, as the only legal representative of the work personnel.

The trade unions put forward eight demands and pay claims. The talks are continuing.

The works director told a PAP journalist that the discussions and negotiations could not and would not lead to bargaining, which undermine the principles of the second stage of the economic reform and disturb their implementation. He also pointed out the direct losses which result daily from stoppages in the works departments. These losses not only burden the nonworking departments and their employees, but also adversely affect the recipients of the steelworks products, including producers of washing machines, fridges and cars, not to mention housing construction. A prolongation of this situation would augment those losses.

PAP Reports on Negotiations

LD282023 Warsaw PAP in English 1500 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 28—In a pay dispute which arose between a section of the working crew of the Lenin steelworks and its management—which we have already reported, the role of a mediator was taken up by the independent self-governing trade union of the Lenin steelworks employees.

Negotiations with the management continue. [Warsaw PAP in English at 1851 GMT on 28 April transmits a service message 'killing' this item]

PAP Scores Walesa Role

LD282137 Warsaw PAP in English 2055 GMT 28 Apr 88

["We Already Know This Scenario"—PAP headline

[Text] Warsaw, April 28—Lech Walesa's shrewdness is astonishing. He told Western newsmen that "the situation is becoming increasingly tense and anything can happen any moment anywhere." The leader of the former "Solidarnosc" did not elaborate, just in case. After all, life is going on and always "something" happens "somewhere."

However, Lech Walesa makes his best in order for the situation to "become increasingly tense," so he issues statements supporting those who are on strike, telephones his colleagues to induce them to arrange strike

alerts in Wroclaw, Szczecin and Gdansk. He calls on "all social forces in the country to take up concerted struggle to exert pressure on the authorities".

It is not hard to guess what Lech Walesa's calls boil down to. The architect of "a second Japan" wants to see widespread industrial actions, wants to force the authorities to pay large sums of inflation money to employees. And once the authorities knuckle down, there will be subsequent tasks and subsequent strikes will come. For the worse the performance of the national economy, the worse the feelings of the nation, the weaker the authorities, the greater room for Mr Walesa to cut a dash.

One does not have to be a crystal gazer to foresee this scenario. It is enough to recall the not-too-distant past. We have already learned this lesson and know its effects. That is why Mr Walesa's care for the living standard of the working people is not convincing for us. And industrial actions by no means lead to its improvement.

PAP Slams Western 'Propagandists'

LD282221 Warsaw PAP in English
2135 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 28—The preharvest period is a time when the old supplies have almost been exhausted while the new crops have not yet been gathered. It seems that such a preharvest period has just alighted on RFE and BBC journalists who, reporting and commenting on events in Poland—dream about a harvest with ill-disguised impatience. Their appetites were invariably whetted by the latest events in Bydgoszcz and Nowa Huta. Of significance is the fact that these appetites are much more voracious than the nourishment supplied during the last few days.

Poets—and Western journalists do undoubtedly play a false word game—know the principle pars pro toto, that is, the notion presenting a part instead of a whole. Instead of describing a whole phenomenon, situation, item—only a fragment, part is depicted. In such a case drawing generalization becomes much easier. Such a reporting technique was adopted by Western broadcasting stations which in their reports on the events in Bydgoszcz and Nowa Huta—reported about strikes which "engulfed great, important factories in Poland." They avoid giving their number or...they report about strikes which "have spread over great parts of the country." The finished strike in Bydgoszcz is mentioned once again after three days in the present tense and its topicality, generalized to the whole country, is stressed.

From this there is a lone step to further generalizations like: "It is astonishing that the teachings of August-1980, June-1976, the coast-1970 have remained in the consciousness of workers..."

But the heights of hypocrisy—and at the same time naivety, that the arguments being presented are credible—were naivety, that the arguments being presented are credible—were reached by a RFE journalist and his interlocutor who, against the background of the difficult living conditions in Poland, the relation between prices and household budgets, shed crocodile tears over the fact that "at the present moment the first, early head of cabbage costs 1,000 zlotys while many people in Poland earn 20,000 zlotys a month, that is the cabbage costs one-twentieth of their wage. This best shows in what a tragic situation many Polish families must have found themselves this month, the third month after the price hikes."

Indeed, there is a preharvest season in the consciousness of the propagandists from the Western broadcasting stations. Maybe they should eat sauerkraut to strengthen themselves. In Warsaw a kilo of sauerkraut costs 100 zlotys.

Lenin Steelworks Official Comments

LD282225 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2100 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Our reporter Wojciech Pawiak spent the whole day today at the Lenin Steelworks. Here is his report:

[Begin recording] [Pawiak] [Passage omitted: interviews with workers; main interview with pensioner, who says how sad it is for him after so many years hard work, and nobody knows when it will end and what will happen to the second stage of the reform now?] Chairman of the independent self-governing Trade Union of Metallurgical Workers; Polish Radio, Wojciech Pawiak. Mr Chairman, it's 1500. What is the situation?

[Trade Union Chairman] One thing has changed for the better. The pipe rolling mill is working without stoppages; but it varies in the other plants, but let's say the situation is not changing, neither for the better or for the worse. [words indistinct] there is a stoppage, let's say, and everything is at a deadlock for the time being.

[Pawiak] That means it's not easy to meet the demands?

[Trade Union Chairman] Well, these demands are easy to meet [as heard]; that is to say, the demands put forward by that group cannot be afforded by the combine. [words indistinct] it can't afford it, because the economic conditions do not permit it.

[Pawiak] What were the negotiations like?

[Trade Union Chairman] Well, about 30 minutes ago the preliminary negotiations took place with the branch directors, where our commission presented our demands to the directors. Now the demands have been taken in hand by the directors. They will digest them, they will make some calculations and we expect all the directors, headed by the director in chief, to come in an hour or 2 and we will negotiate. What are the negative aspects of all this? First: An illegal strike. Next: Inflicting losses on

the enterprise; and there are losses. I ask myself: What would have been better? An illegal strike or, let's say, give your demands [word indistinct] on paper to the management and negotiate?

[Pawiak] And that didn't happen earlier?

[Trade Union Chairman] That didn't happen earlier. The strike started spontaneously at 9 o'clock on the [changes thought] on Tuesday, on Tuesday, spontaneously at 9 o'clock, without notifying anybody and without presenting any demands. At 9 o'clock in the morning.

[Pawiak] If it had happened like this, that those people had come to you and said: Chairman, this is the situation, if we don't get... [incomplete sentence as heard]

[Trade Union Chairman] If they had presented demands similar to ours, let's say, and they are practically, in the social and economic dimension, similar, we would have talked [word indistinct]. If we'd known earlier that they were preparing something like this, we would have (known?) its demands and it would certainly have taken a different form. If we, the legal trade union, are not informed about representations, about demands...

[Unidentified voice interrupting] Ladies and gentlemen, only the commission remains.

[Pawiak] The negotiations with the trade union are over. Director Pustowka of Lenin Steelworks can you tell us about them?

[Pustowka] You know that the trade unions, (?our) trade union organization NSZ submitted a list of demands to the management, which are supposed, among other things, to help resolve the difficult situation which has arisen: All of them, in my opinion, in the (?mainstream) of the interests of the broad mass of employees.

[Pawiak] Have the demands been met?

[Pustowka] Not all of them: At the present stage, they simply cannot be implemented, (?at the present stage) of identifying the assets [Srodkow] because the majority of them, the great majority, create the need, the considerable need of assets for the wages fund exceeding the current possibilities of the combine...

[Pawiak, interrupting] In that case, the talks are at a deadlock?

[Pustowka] No, not a deadlock. By 2000, we will take a written stance on this matter.

[Pawiak] Did the strike take you by surprise?

[Pustowka] You were in Warsaw and you found out in Warsaw that there was a strike?

[Pawiak] Yes.

[Pustowka] Did it take you by surprise?

[Pawiak] Yes.

[Pustowka] Didn't you expect this kind of reaction from the workforce, after 2 months have elapsed since the increases, that people are only now beginning to feel the effects of the price increases.

[Pawiak] The increases...

[Pustowka, interrupting] In our combine, the increases were carried out in December, pay increases; means were in preparation; and of course, simply, if the strike decision had been delayed by a day it probably wouldn't have been taken at all. [end recording]

Two Solidarity Leaders Arrested

LD282255 Hamburg DPA in German
2210 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Two leading members of the banned Polish trade union "Solidarity" were arrested late on Thursday evening. Bronislaw Geremek, adviser to the trade union, announced in Warsaw that the persons involved are Zbigniew Bujak and Janusz Onyszkiewicz. Geremek added that he had been with the two men in a car which was stopped by the police. He himself was freed after a short time and permitted to return to Warsaw.

'Forces' Seek 'Prolongation' of Dispute

LD282252 Warsaw PAP in English
2201 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 28: The work stoppage in certain departments of the Lenin Metallurgical Combine in Nowa Huta, contrary to the laws currently in force and the combine and its crew's interests, is continuing.

The plant's management will hold talks with the independent self-governing trade union of the metallurgical plant's employees which is the crew's sole legal representative. The hitherto impossibility of solving the dispute, despite various initiatives of the management, shows that there have appeared forces which do not want a quick solution concordant with the employees' interests and those of society at large.

What, then, is it all about. The answer to this question is complex. However, the increasing number of statements made by activists of various anti-socialist groups in Poland and the subversive radio stations and part of the Western press supporting them are helpful in discerning the intentions of those who have so far hindered the attainment of solution to the problem. Complementing each other, they call for the prolongation of the strike until May day which they would like to use for street demonstrations, for the spreading of the strike to other

work establishments with postulates of high wage increases, to draw students into the manifestations of their organization, to the re-establishment of historically discredited organizations.

We know these scenarios well from the past. The goal of these domestic and foreign inspirers is not the solving of the conflict in accordance with the law in force and in conditions of the observance of democracy and the principles of the reform. What they want is to undermine the economy, to thwart the realization of the reform, increase inflation, worsen the living conditions and arouse social dissatisfaction.

During the last few years various western politicians reiterated the call for the implementation of radical reforms in Poland. In many reports prepared by experts of international organizations the undertaking of actions introducing discipline into the economy and especially those stabilizing the market was realistically advised. Today, Western broadcasting stations, steered by those same politicians, propagate ideas and information which contradict the intentions declared earlier.

In this situation the question: What do they truly want, comes to mind. In its April 27th broadcast the West German Deutschlanfunk (DLF) station threatened that the disputes in Poland would influence the state of cooperation of Western banks and industrialists with Poland.

One may say that this is illogical. But this does, indeed, contain a certain logic. The logic of those forces in Poland and abroad which are not keen on hard-working workers in Nowa Huta and other Polish enterprises earning more in accordance with the principles of the reform, on them having prospects of a better life.

Guarantees Promised If Strike Ends

LD290811 Hamburg DPA in German
2327 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Krakow: (DPA)—The management of the Polish Lenin steel works at Nowa Huta has promised the striking steel workers full security guarantees if they break off their action by 2200 on Friday. As a spokesman for the official trade unions said late Thursday evening, communiques to this effect have already been distributed to individual departments. Those who follow up the appeal to end the strike face neither disciplinary measures nor a reduction of bonuses or other consquences. [passage omitted]

Walesa: No 'Drastic Steps'

PM290811 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian
27 Apr 88 p 8

[Stein Savik dispatch: "'Situation Dangerous in Poland,' Says Walesa"]

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Apr—"Because of the major price rises the situation in Poland is dangerous," Lech Walesa said yesterday. "Solidarity must fight against this trend, but we will not use drastic measures. We do not want strikes, because they can only make the economy worse."

The Nobel Prize winner and leader of the banned Solidarity trade union spoke to Norwegian journalists after he had given Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg his view of developments in Poland. He did not ask the Norwegian foreign minister for special support for Solidarity, but thought it important that Stoltenberg—like other Western politicians—should have an opportunity to hear his views, which are different from those of the government.

During a lunch at the Norwegian Embassy Stoltenberg and Walesa had first a 15-minute meeting alone, and thereafter their exchange of views took place in a larger group. Walesa was accompanied by his advisers, Bronislaw Geremek, Andrzej Stelmachowski, and press spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz, but it was Walesa who spoke the most. According to Stoltenberg, the main point in Walesa's briefing was that the liberalization of Poland is moving in the right direction, but doing so too slowly. He said sarcastically that at its present rate the process will take a couple of hundred years.

With the press Walesa did not seem as quick-witted as he once was, but spoke more diplomatically. He considers the public communications strike in Bydgoszcz an alarm signal. "It showed that similar things could happen everywhere, that a fire could break out," he said. "There are far too many people existing on the minimum level."

The one-day Bydgoszcz strike is thought to be the biggest strike since the imposition of martial law. The authorities are still negotiating with the bus personnel, who are demanding a 60-percent wage increase. The authorities fear that large wage increases alongside inflation could seriously endanger the current economic reforms. Prices rises in the first quarter of this year totaled 42 percent, while the target for the whole year was 40 percent. According to the authorities, wages have risen by even more.

"We are dissatisfied with the reforms and the people implementing them," Walesa said. But he was less precise when he said what steps Solidarity intended to take:

"We will turn to the people in the near future to find out what the best weapons are," he said, adding, however, that Solidarity does not want drastic steps.

Walesa's Nobel Prize award, which he called the property of Solidarity and the whole of society, will continue to remain on deposit in Norway. He said that there is still no legal basis for the transfer of the money to Poland and its use for humanitarian purposes.

Stalowa-Wola Workers Join Strike

AU290914 Paris AFP in English
0907 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, April 29 (AFP)—A new strike hit Poland's steel industry on Friday as 3,000 steel workers at Stalowa-Wola, central Poland joined a strike over pay and benefits launched Tuesday at the giant Lenin Steel Works near Krakow.

The 3,000 downed tools after an early-morning strike meeting outside the management offices at the Stalowa-Wola plant which employs 8,000 workers. The strikers have demanded more pay and the reinstatement of two men sacked last week for union activities.

Meanwhile union sources in Stalowa-Wola said four local opposition figures had been arrested on Thursday in the run-up to the strike and were still being detained. They were named as Ewa Kuboerna, a human rights militant, and three members of the banned Solidarity union, Miroslaw Cop, Wojciech Dziura and Michal Rostek.

Mr Rostek is one of the two men whose rehire is demanded by the strikers.

Meanwhile, the 20,000 strikers at the Lenin steelworks at Nowa Huta, in southern Poland, were still out on Friday despite the strike being declared illegal on Thursday by the Krakow Public Prosecutor. [passage omitted]

West German News Reports Rejected

LD281529 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Poland is in the news again. This morning the West German Polish-language broadcasting station, Deutschlandfunk, quoting REUTER, reported that urban transport employees in Bydgoszcz, Lodz, Torun, and Grudziadz are on strike. We have checked. It is a lie—or maybe wishful thinking on their part?

Government Holds Talks With Transport Workers

LD281831 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Talks were held in Warsaw today between representatives of the Federation of Trade Unions of Urban Transport Employees and the Government. Grazyna Zielinska asked Adam Wieladek, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Transport, Shipping, and Communications, to sum them up.

[Begin recording] [Zielinska] Minister, please tell us what today's talks were about?

[Wieladek] The negotiations are connected with the collective dispute (?caused) by the Federation of Trade Unions of Urban Transport Employees concerning wage (?payments) in enterprises of this sector. This is a dispute between the federation and the government. A team of representatives of the Ministry of Transport, Shipping, and Communications, and of Finance and [words indistinct] represented the government. How to solve the pay problem in urban transport enterprises, without ruining the enterprise's financial and economic system? This is not just a question of a tax on earnings above the norm. These problems are wider in scope. The issue is the level of earnings of urban transport workers [words indistinct] and we will find solutions specific to this branch of transport.

[Zielinska] And the results?

[Wieladek] During the first round of talks today standpoints came considerably closer, and we decided together that we would meet at 1200 on Saturday [word indistinct] to finish the talks. [end recording]

Further on Discussions

LD281953 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] According to an announcement, negotiations took place today between the Federation of Trade Unions of Municipal Transport Employees and representatives of the Ministry of Transport, Shipping, and Communications and the Ministry of Finance, as well as the Ministry of Labor and Welfare Policy. They concerned the collective dispute started by the federation. During the negotiations a convergence of standpoints was reached. The next round of talks will be held next Saturday.

Adolf Gil, deputy chairman of the Trade Union of Municipal Transport Employees, said in an interview for PAP that the federation requests that a proper system of functioning of municipal transport enterprises and their financing be worked out. The issue is to put them in a proper financial condition. The introduction of the new system should take place from next year. However, some issues ought to be settled right now, as the enterprises are facing difficulties caused by a lack of people, who are leaving for pay reasons. This is the cause of the collective dispute.

Franciszek Adam Wieladek, deputy Minister of Transport, Shipping, and Communications, said that he hopes that the fundamental issues will be defined next Saturday. Funds to cover pay rises should come from a reduction in the running costs of the enterprises, from profits for new services, and from additional subsidies from local budgets. However, pay issues in municipal transport call for a general review, which is connected with the necessity to create a new financial and economic system for the municipal transport enterprises.

The team which is to deal with these issues will commence work 3 May.

Council of Ministers Views Economic Reform

AU281920 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] PAP—At its 25 April session the Council of Ministers examined the implementation of the January-March task program for the second stage of the economic reform, involving 52 tasks crucial for promoting collective and individual initiative and for creating conditions

to expedite economic balance, increase supplies, strengthen the independence of economic and local bodies, and advance organizational and institutional progress.

The session noted that all scheduled tasks had been consistently realized and that many solutions, which had already been applied, would effectively help to accelerate qualitative changes in the system of economic performance.

The Fund for Structural Changes in Industry, which is already in force, will finance highly effective ventures. Many crucial changes have been made in the activities of outlet agents to facilitate the development of outlets, and new regulations to increase interest in home work have been adopted.

New principles governing wages for factory managers tie these wages to economic results in enterprises. A uniform system of evaluating the performance of public-sector units has been introduced.

Because it is now easier for public-sector units to sell surplus rationed raw and other materials, over three-quarters of deals concluded in the supply market are no longer subject to any rationing restrictions. As a result of the evaluation of the conditions of hiring free production capacities in the public-sector units, it has been decided that hiring contracts can be freely signed in line with the Civil Code. This should help spread this kind of economic activity. To promote the production of building materials, a number of concessions have been granted to the building materials industry, and the Sejm has been asked to pass the necessary changes in the law on the fund for structural changes. New economic-fiscal solutions have been adopted to promote various forms of construction.

Draft changes to the law on creating factory wage systems have been submitted to the Sejm with a view to adjusting the relevant regulations to the second stage of the economic reform. The point is to tie wages more closely to work results and to simplify procedures.

Many tasks helped to strengthen the fiscal, legal, and organizations independence of territorial self-government. The Sejm dealt with changes in the system of the people's councils and territorial self-government and in the budget law so as to increase the self-financing, independence, and responsibilities of local budgets.

The banks have begun to fix realistic rates of interest and to adjust loans to the development of economically sound resources.

Foreign trade's new facilities include the freedom to trade in goods whose export and import require no permits. If required, such permits can now be obtained more easily. Enterprises that import goods for their own currency funds can now freely choose the foreign trade agency to carry out such import. The home prices on sales of production materials have again been brought closer to transaction prices.

Some of the 58 tasks in question were carried out in farming and food. For example, uniform subsidies are now provided for the export of farm produce and food bringing economic conditions to the same level, encouraging efforts to lower production costs, and obtaining the best prices in convertible currency. Proposals have been drawn up for remodeling the subsidy system and for eliminating the countervailing accounts relating to prices in the food economy. Much progress has been made in many extremely important sectors of economic performance, especially in the field of prices, and draft changes in the price law have been submitted to the Council of Ministers. These changes are to make it easier to abandon the so-called costing formula of prices and to turn prices into economic parameters developed in accordance with principles of economic balance.

The Council of Ministers acquainted itself with information on the economic situation and the implementation of the Central Annual Plan during the first quarter of this year.

The processes taking place in the production sphere during the first months of this year indicate that the majority of basic production tasks will be accomplished. At the same time, negative trends still persist with respect to financial and money-market equilibrium.

The degree to which the annual plan for industrial production has been implemented is higher than the amount of labor time that has been expended, which makes it possible to predict an increase of about 4 percent in output during the current year.

The results produced by the public housing construction sector were relatively positive. The number of apartments made available for occupancy was higher than a year ago, and the rate of increase exceeded plan projections. As a result of favorable conditions work has also been started on the construction of three times as many new apartments as a year ago and almost 2,000 apartments more have been made available to investors. However, the total number envisaged by voivodship plans is lower than the initial voivodship proposals of a total of 5,800 contained in the Central Annual Plan. There is, however, a possibility that the reduction in the planned level of voivodship public construction may be partially, or completely, offset by a greater number of completed apartments in the private construction sector.

So far, the weather has not posed a danger to vegetable production. It has facilitated the smooth operation of the procurement of agricultural produce and the provision of material and technical supplies to agriculture. It was also advantageous from the point of view of increased milk production and an increase in the number of hogs.

The supply of fertilizers is to some extent ahead of schedule. Supplies of plant preservation agents are continuing to increase. As a result of improved supplies of spare parts the state of technical equipment is better.

The situation with respect to livestock production is better than during the fourth quarter of last year. The structure of livestock is better, and the need for young animals for breeding purposes has increased.

Foreign trade was characterized by a high rate of exchange in both payments spheres. The balance of payments situation was better than last year.

In assessing the sphere of actual economic processes from the point of view of what may endanger the implementation of the Central Annual Plan, it ought to be stated that information that is currently available indicates that problems of this kind are almost solely restricted to certain sectors such as the production of paper, polyvinyl chloride, timber, and copper.

The situation with respect to economic processes other than actual production is different. During the first quarter the money-market situation deteriorated. The rate of increase in incomes significantly exceeded the increase in prices and expenditure and the rate at which goods are supplied, which could not help to limit demand. The high level of demand that was not satisfied, especially with respect to non-foodstuffs (although the volume of sales for such goods rose by 9 percent) did not provide a natural barrier against increases in contractual prices and did not make it possible to rebuild stocks, and a consequence of this unsatisfied demand was that people's cash reserves grew.

The rate at which the growth in incomes exceeded the growth in prices certainly helped to make public reaction to the price changes less extreme, but it has also given rise to grounds for an increase in prices that will exceed projections, because to finance higher wages, enterprises will strive to bring about an increase in contractual prices that will be higher than envisaged and demand will pose no obstacle to this. Ultimately, if wages and prices in the material production sphere exceed planned levels, there is a danger that inflationary pressure will be generated and this will result in an increase in other earnings.

In this situation, it is important to reduce the growth in wages in the material production sphere to a level that is below the presently envisaged one. This will be encouraged by harsh taxes on supernumerary wages.

The Council of Ministers also examined and adopted a report on agriculture and the food economy in 1987.

This was a difficult year for agriculture and agricultural production because of disastrous frost damage to orchards, which reduced the fruit crop by 62.5 percent, and because of a fall in net animal production despite the increased productiveness of animals, especially cows and pigs.

However, the grain, rape, and vegetable crops were high last year. The grain yield of 31.3 quintals per hectare broke the 1986 record, and over 26 million tonnes of grain were harvested. The harvest of fodder crops and hay also exceeded the 1987 plan.

The fall in the cow population was eased in 1987, and the size of the general livestock population stabilized. Milk production was only slightly lower than in 1986 thanks to the richer yield of cows and progress in the science of breeding.

The report was submitted to the Sejm.

The Council of Ministers adopted a statute for the Planning Commission. In pursuance of the reform to central institutions, the Commission's functions include working out long-term national socioeconomic objectives and development strategy, see to it that economic mechanisms are efficient, and implement selected economic development strategies. These functions are primarily intended to make sure that market mechanisms function correctly.

The new structure of this office corresponds to that of an executive body, not to a body that exercises constant control over the economy. That is why branch organizational cells no longer exist. This has permitted a considerable reduction in the number of posts and an improvement to the work and training methods of employees, who must combine an ability to perform economic analyses with the ability to plan development strategy based on the economic instruments that are applied to enterprises.

The Council of Ministers adopted a directive on the application of the law on state enterprises. The directive expands the list of circumstances which may lead to the bankruptcy of an enterprise. At present, the decision to initiate bankruptcy proceedings may be taken when an enterprise is unable to guarantee the required safety and hygiene and when the norms governing the consumption of energy and materials are broken, which normally involves exorbitant production costs.

The Council of Ministers issued a ruling that prohibits a start on the construction of new administrative buildings until 1990. This is in pursuance of the austerity program in the national economy adopted on 12 April.

The plan of investments calls for the completion of essential administrative projects that have already been started, and a strict ban on the start of new projects. At the same time, work is under way to make optimum use of existing office facilities.

Government Adopts 'Austerity Measures' 11 Apr

AU282001 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Apr 88 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Austerity Measures in the National Economy"]

[Text] On 11 April, the Council of Ministers adopted a program for economies in the national economy. Below is an extensive report on these economies.

Consistent economies at every stage of national income production is one of the basic conditions for achieving our socioeconomic goals and is of crucial economic, political, and social importance. The realization of the 1983-85 savings program helped to increase productivity, to lower the consumption of materials and energy in producing national income, and to fulfill the basic tasks of the 3-year plan.

The program of measures to improve the use of materials, fuels, and energy in 1985-90—this program was drawn up in line with previous experience and was adopted by the government—supplements the national socioeconomic plan for the same years. The planned increase in production and in the national income in the present 5-year period is twice as high as the predicted increase in the supply of basic raw and other materials, which means that that an increase of 1 percent in the national income must be obtained for no more than 0.5-percent increase in material and energy consumption.

The implementation program for the second stage of the economic reform contains institutional solutions aimed at economizing. Comprehensive measures continue to be taken to this end in the budget with a view to curbing budget deficits.

Experience shows that state administration is up to standard in fulfilling its tasks in economizing. The cost of this administration's performance accounts for only about 2 percent of total budget expenditures.

In line with the 1986-90 savings program, the material intensity of the national income should decrease 1.9-2.3 percent and the energy intensity of this income should decrease 1.2-1.7 percent a year. Compared with 1985, in 1990 the relative consumption of energy should decrease by 22 million tonnes of normal fuel. Poor progress in the implementation of the so-called listed tasks and, despite various institutional facilities, the poor commitment of some enterprises to their own economizing measures are responsible for the fact that it was impossible to achieve the planned reduction in the national income's energy intensity in the first 2 years of the program. Only the lower level of this reduction was achieved.

Compared with 1985, in 1986 the energy intensity of the national income went down by 2.8 percent and the consumption of fuel and energy in the national economy amounted to 180.4 million tonnes of normal fuels. Initial estimates show that, compared with 1986, this fuel consumption increased about 1.6 percent, while the national income increased about 2 percent. Bad weather conditions were the main factor in this.

Within 2 years of the program implementation, the national income's energy intensity decreased 1.3 percent on yearly average, which is what the 5-year plan stipulates. However, this result was achieved mainly because of progress made in 1986.

The reduction in material intensity of industrial production approximates the lower level stipulated by the national socioeconomic plan, but there have been no improvements the material intensity of building-assembly production for many years now. In 1986, this intensity went down by only 1.2 percent and was unchanged in 1987.

Up to the end of 1987 the realization of 225 out of 304 investments listed in the program was started. The lack of funds for continued investments, especially those to be completed in 1988-89, may endanger the achievement of planned production and savings results. We already know that 55 investment tasks will be completed only after 1990. It is disturbing that these delayed investments include those connected with the production of equipment and goods for rationalizing technological processes throughout the national economy. Over one-third of all tasks realized under government orders are the tasks included in the program. Over 80 percent of them are related to the development and application of electronics as well as to the processing and storage of farm and food products.

The implementation of the voivodship savings programs has not produced satisfactory results. In 1986 (there are no data for 1987) 13 voivodships achieved over 60 percent of nationwide results. It is very seldom that action is taken to utilize timber scrap, small lignite deposits, and peat; to exploit local deposits of natural gas; and to tap geothermal and solar energy as well as biogas. Measures to recycle industrial scrap and secondary raw materials are inadequate.

All kinds of institutional solutions designed to induce enterprises to conserve energy and materials have not produced satisfactory results. Various competitions play an important role in savings. The second competition to conserve raw and other materials produced savings worth Z14.8 billion and the 20th competition to conserve fuels and energy helped to save 500,00 tonnes of normal fuel.

To accelerate the realization of the program in 1988, 59 investment tasks have been ordered by the government and 27 major construction projects have been declared central investments. At the same time, the program has been supplemented with many new measures. For example, the system of income taxation concessions resulting from actual economies has been extended to all economic units; it has been decided to devise a system under which the norms for the consumption of raw and other materials are tied to structural changes in industry, and to exploit the Structural Changes Fund for this purpose; possibilities will be examined of whether energy investments can be so designed as to produce heat and electricity at the same time; varied fees for energy, water, and central heating will be introduced; and the interest on loans for housing construction, maintenance fees, and taxation will depend on whether standard norms are exceeded.

Regardless of the corrections and additions to the program in question, the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, the ministers concerned, and heads of central offices will cooperate to draw up complementary savings programs for 1988-90 in the areas of the economy such as manpower, transportation, trade, the procurement of farm produce, and so on, and will present these programs to the government by the end of coming June.

They should take account of activities designed to prevent changes in the prices of supplies being completely transferred to prices of finished goods; effective use of the system of concessions for high standards of quality and harsher tax penalties for poor standards of quality; improved transportation systems; the elimination of unnecessary transportation; the elimination of damage caused during transportation; fuller use agricultural products derived from animals and vegetables, as well as the elimination of losses, especially in the processing of milk and meat; more efficient employment in enterprises and combines, and the elimination of excessive employment and an improvement in its structure.

It is essential to increase the involvement of regional organs of the state administration at all levels in the formulation of complementary programs and the accomplishment of undertakings stemming from the program. This applies, above all, to: the use of local raw materials, especially with regard to housing construction; greater use of local waste materials and the reclamation and processing of secondary materials; the construction of small-scale hydroelectric and wind-powered power stations; and the expansion of local facilities for the processing of agricultural produce.

The modification of the state control system to suit the conditions of the second stage of the economic reform envisages that a decisive role in increasing the efficiency of management will be played by economic and financial mechanisms that will be supported by properly organized internal control procedures within organizational units.

Inspections of economic units will be conducted by a smaller number of control organs. The subject of these inspections will be different. The principle aim of inspections will be to expose the causes of negative elements in economic phenomena. The aims of economic inspections conducted by parent bodies and of financial inspections will, therefore, accord with the provisions of the program for achieving economies in the national economy. The modification of the control system will also cover specialist control organs that are charged with the task of exercising state supervision of public health, employment, the environment, and technology. The merging of state supervisory services is envisaged. The minister responsible for the domestic market will have a separate control organ at his disposal. Unit reform mechanisms are fully implemented. This organ will conduct quality controls when goods are received and inspect the supply of goods to the marketplace.

The Council of Ministers advised that an immediate program be implemented with a view to: limiting budget expenditure; creating more efficient organizational and employment structures; and improving the service received by the population. Large savings have been made in the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The number of passenger automobiles at the disposal of central and regional units financed from the state budget has been reduced by 1,700 (19 percent). A total of 5,879 telephones have been made available, and 5,390 of them have been installed for new subscribers. The number of posts in the central administration has been reduced by 3,000. The number of departments in some voivodship offices has been reduced.

The program for immediate savings activities has not been completely implemented, neither by people's councils nor by enterprises. It has to be continued.

Total budget savings for 1987 amounted to about Z70 billion. This was achieved by, among other things: reducing subsidies to social organizations connected with the central budget; a reduction in the funds available for domestic and foreign business travel in units financed from the budget; and savings in units financed from the budget that made it possible to partially offset the effects of changes in prices.

A special bank account has been opened to which the savings made by units of the socialized economy can be transferred. At the end of last year the account contained Z881 million. The funds accumulated in this account will be designated for social purposes.

The reorganization of the center—the reduction in the number of ministries and central offices has resulted in savings in the number of posts, premises, and actual material savings. During the first quarter of this year a review was conducted of the structures of the remaining ministries and central institutions and modifications were introduced. The number of posts was reduced by 1,000, and 4,500 square meters of office space was made available.

The structure of voivodship offices will be thoroughly changed this year, starting with those at primary level. The number of internal cells and leadership posts will be reduced, and essential services increased. Redundant personnel and resources will be transferred to the primary level bodies. In pursuance of the proposals of the Council of Voivodas, work is under way on improving administrative procedures.

This year it is essential to speed up the review of structures and certification of jobs in units that are supervised by ministers and heads of central offices and subordinated to local bodies of state administration. The main purpose here is to maintain proper proportions between employment in the economic administration and employment in production. Good results have been achieved by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, where 80 percent of the jobs in the foreign trade enterprises and cooperatives under this ministry's authority were certified, 65 organizational cells abolished, and about 30 cells merged with others. The number of posts was also reduced by over 350, almost 90 of them at leadership level.

Concerning organizations dealing with the materials economy, one should consider whether they are performing vital tasks for the national economy such as reducing the damage caused by corrosion, reducing losses during the transportation and storage of agricultural produce, and using by-products and waste.

As far as the communal services are concerned, local bodies of state administration should concentrate on a rational planning and coordination of activity by various services, for example the energy, construction, road maintenance, and water services. The point is to establish the correct priority of work by these services.

It is also necessary to improve supervision over the combatting of waste and untidiness in state-owned and cooperative housing districts, taking advantage of the ideas of residents and their self-governments on this subject.

Austerity measures in the budget sphere have started with an analysis of the financial wishes of ministers and voivodas. If all these wishes were taken into account, there would be a budget deficit of over Z2 trillion. In its budget law, the Sejm ruled that the deficit can only amount to Z270 billion. Any remaining deficit must be offset by the price increases introduced as of 1 February, which will reduce the strain on the budget by Z502 billion; by additional budgetary income; and by a cut of at least Z633 billion on budgetary spending. The following economies have already decided upon: Capital spending is to be reduced by Z235 billion; subsidies for enterprises are to be reduced by Z70 billion; an extra Z250 billion will be added to the budget in the form of income and profit tax; and further savings of Z90 billion will be made by reducing the school week next year by 2 hours, eliminating subsidies for textbooks in elementary schools, and increasing the fees for nurseries and kindergartens.

In addition, there are plans for further undertakings which require broader consultation and legislation and which would ease the budget deficit by about Z100 billion. These include the creation of a health service development fund under the auspices of the minister of health and social security; subsidies for drug prescriptions to be paid out of the Social Insurance Fund for people entitled to them (which would ease the budget by Z77 billion); and the counteraction of waste of drugs and irrational management over medical resources.

These austerity measures for the national economy and society have to be safeguarded by means of proper methods of control over them. The government has entrusted coordination of austerity measures in the material production sphere to the Government Planning Commission, and coordination of similar measures in the financial sphere to the minister of finance.

Daily Views Need To Avoid 'Economic Chaos'

LD281245 Warsaw PAP in English
1152 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 28—In a commentary on collective disputes over wages, RZECZPOSPOLITA daily said that Poland's law on trade unions offers legal mechanisms which specify ways to satisfy demands.

"This includes the principles of organizing strikes. Like in many Western laws, our legal regulations stipulate two socially important principles in solving such collective disputes. The first holds that a strike constitutes ultima ratio, i.e. the ultimate argument. The second holds that a trade union operating legally, that is, one registered in court, is the side in the dispute empowered to negotiate and proclaim a strike," the paper writes.

"Against the backdrop of the latest events, one should recall that the rules governing collective disputes negotiated with the trade unions are firmly in force. This recollection is not only dictated by the fact that appropriate sanctions are provided (by the regulations) against the organizers of and participants in an illegal strike. at issue is something more, namely the need to avoid the economic and social losses, incomparably greater than the demands, as well as losses for the employee and crew, the need to stop activities which could lead to economic chaos," RZECZPOSPOLITA noted.

Weekly Warns Against Stalinism

AU271213 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 24 Apr 88 p 2

[Jerzy Pardus commentary: "Stalinism Consists of Extraordinary Measures and of Government by the Apparatus"]

[Excerpts] The literature about Stalinism is extensive, but this is not the case in our country or in our neighbors' countries. Western publications that deal with Stalinism, especially the memoirs written by former communist activists, are full of almost wild hatred of our idea and are biased by the authors' urge to curry favor with their principals. One can read them, but one has to do this with a pinch of salt. However, the wave of publications that have resumed settling accounts with the Stalinist past continues to increase, because originally this settling of accounts was carried out superficially, inconsistently, and halfway, and because it failed to formulate theoretical conclusions and practical proposals that would finish off the Stalinist Hydra. The issue is not just a single man, one who was able to create a system that vitiated structures, people, and their personalities, and able to infect a living organism with cancer. The issue is also the system in which the human being and society counted for nothing and in which the apparatus, as supervisor, possessed extraordinary means of compulsion.

The "new wave" is exemplified by OGONEK's publication of excerpts from the discussion held by the scientists invited to do so by OGONEK and RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNIY MIR. These excerpts have been reprinted by our invaluable FORUM.

The discussion clearly reveals the admitted fear that there may be a withdrawal from perestroyka and a return to the situation "in which ready-made ideas provided with registration numbers and stamps were handed down from above, and in which a forest of enthusiastic hands went up down below." [passage omitted]

It is obvious that we are hard put to compare the Polish situation with the Soviet one, but we must bear in mind that it was not only in the USSR that Stalinism took place. We, too, experienced its Polish version, and some of the Soviet authors' observations also apply to our situation. For example, some people in our country like to issue verbal instructions, preferably by telephone, because such instructions are difficult to prove. After all, situations may arise in which verdicts and sentences can be formulated on the strength of such instructions and in which people's lives can thus be ruined. The efficient, obedient, and unscrupulous executor of the chief's instructions is even able to suitably manipulate a social body or team, especially when he allows some grounds to hold water and rejects others in advance.

The intensification of the Stalinist-type past varies with specific local conditions, but terrorizing people, creating exaggerated threats, extorting untrue views, and reneging on previous statements are common features of Stalinism. We can prevent the Polish brand of Stalinism only by bringing to light such features and such people, and by condemning them.

Defense Minister Milea Cables DPRK Counterpart

AU281042 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 25 Apr p 5

[Text] Colonel General Vasile Milea, defense minister of the SR of Romania, sent a congratulatory cable to Vice Marshal O Chin-u, minister of the People's Armed Forces of the DPRK, on the 56th anniversary of the DPRK Army Day.

On the same occasion, Colonel Pak Chi-sak, military, air, and naval attache of the DPRK to our country met with teaching staff and students of the "Dimitrie Cantemir" Military School and with soldiers of a unit of the Romanian Army and spoke to them about the significance of the celebrated event. The participants in the meeting were shown documentaries and a photographic exhibition detailing aspects of the life and military activity of the Korean People's Armed Forces.

Joint Economic Commission With Ghana Convenes

AU281916 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1758 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/April/1988—The present state of bilateral economic relations, the possibilities and ways of further developing cooperation in areas of joint interest, of expanding and diversifying mutual goods exchanges were surveyed during the fifth session of the Joint Romanian-Ghanaian Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation held in Bucharest over 25-28 April.

At the end of the proceedings the two co-chairmen of the commission, Ion M. Nicolae, minister of chemical and petrochemical industry, and Don Arthur, minister at the State Committee for Economic Cooperation of the Republic of Ghana, signed the protocol of the session.

In Romania the head of the Ghanaian delegation had interviews with executives of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, the Ministry of Machine Building and the Ministry of Heavy Equipment Industry.

LCY Presidium Backs 15 May Economic Measures

LD281910 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1433 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 28 Apr (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee Presidium at a session today endorsed the proposed measures of the economic policy which should come into effect after 15 May. The highest party forum assessed that these measures were based on the decisions of 13th LCY Congress and the longterm program of economic stabilization. These measures mean, it was said, implementation of a program of measures and activities to curb inflation and realize the economic policy in this year.

In addition to this principled support the Presidium established that the proposed measures should be further developed, completed and all their effects and consequences realistically examined, particularly in the social area.

Of course, it was not possible to expect that the LCY Central Committee Presidium should discuss the proposed measures of the Federal Executive Council in the way it is done in the Assembly, Economic Chamber and other institutions of the system. The basic question for the LCY Central Committee Presidium members was whether the measures are based on the ideopolitical orientations of the LC and to what extent they create conditions space for greater independence, initiative and motivation of workers and collectives, in order to attain better results, that is, to which extent they assist further development of self-management. In this connection it was established that the measures which refer to the liberalization of prices, imports, a uniform and realistic exchange rate of the dinar and some other measures contribute to strengthening of economic criteria and creation of conditions for the affirmation of associated labor organizations as independent goods producers on the market.

Assessing the proposed measures, Milanko Renovica, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium said in an introductory speech that the approach to the liberalization of prices was well developed.

He said that it would not be acceptable if, through the application of various criteria in price formations, relations between individual economic branches and groups were disturbed, which should then, as he said, have to be corrected in a drastic manner. The position of associated labor organizations on the common market and in the conditions of greater openess should be, Renovica continued, measured against the efficiency and success of their economic activity. The liberalization of prices should not become a source of growing inflation and should not lead to seeking a way out through constant price increases. It is obvious that the mechanism of the liberalization of prices should be clearly worked out so that new, unjustified disparities are not brought about. [passage omitted]

On this occasion the Presidium also criticized some lightly made one-sided statements which provoke confrontations and spread intolerant relations between certain groups and their members. Within this framework the Presidium assessed that a recent statement by Franc Popit, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, that the behavior of the creators of the present systemic solutions and those formulating the current economic policy can be seen as a counterrevolution, is politically irresponsible, harmful and unacceptable.

This statement, it was established, is not in accordance with the democratic character of dialogue in a delegate system and with the efforts to strengthen confidence in the federal organs as joint organs for all republics and provinces and improve their work. Nor does this statement contribute to overall efforts toward a speedier way out of the crisis—the efforts whose constitutent part is also critical examination and assessment of the work of all organs in society, including also the federal ones, in realizing their constitutional and social functions and duties, it was concluded today at a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

LCY Presidium Views Associated Labor 19 Apr

AU281230 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Apr 88 p 1

[Ivan Torov report: "Economy Without Tutor"]

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Apr—Preparing itself for the Central Committee session, the LCY Central Committee Presidium under the chairmanship of Bosko Krunic, today discussed the ideopolitical questions on self-managing organization and decisionmaking in associated labor.

The crisis of society, as was pointed out, calls for essential changes in the field of self-managing organization and decisionmaking in associated labor. Their purpose should be to rid the economy of political and state tutelage so that its independence and strength could serve as a strong base for market-planned production.

In his introductory speech made on behalf of a working group, which had prepared the analysis and draft conclusions, Slobodan Filipovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said that a dispute as to whether serious changes are needed or not no longer exists despite the fact there are still some individuals who are horrified when we openly say that fundamental reforms to the Law on Associated Labor are more then needed.

Facing a Big Job [subhead]

According to Filipovic, the changes should lead to a radical break from the statist-bureaucratic patronage over the economy, which is the main obstacle to the market and self-managing orientation, as well as to a break from the domineering elements of state-ownership

relations. It is necessary to free associated labor from the political pressure as to how it should organize itself.

In that sense the LC is facing a big job, above all in eliminating ideological dogmas and illusions about the position of associated labor. Filipovic particularly referred to what are in his view unacceptable theses according to which the cause of the present distortions does not lie in the norms at all. He said that it is "impossible" that some "undisciplined and distorted practice" was "responsible" for this alone.

The view that one should drop the absolute view that the basic associated labor organization is the only possible basic form of associated labor, drew particular attention. Filipovic cited an example of this practice:

"We have created such a situation that some parts of a work organization can make decisions, contrary to the majority of other parts of the work organization, almost independently and in a sovereign way on the basis of consensus. This position—in which every individual part can imperil market functioning and even the survival of the entire organization without which nobody would earn anything—is untenable."

According to Vidoje Zarkovic, it would be a great illusion if we thought that by only transferring present constitutional provisions regarding the position and role of the basic organization onto the work organization, things would solve themselves. But this does not mean that as regards this, one should not change things as proposed in the session documents. Zarkovic pointed out that in our society there are many controversies, differences, and even extreme views regarding the basic associated labor organization, ranging from those which uncritically dismiss or qualify the basic associated labor organization as the main cause of all problems in self-management and of exacerbating the economic crisis to those which stubbornly defend its existing form.

Zarkovic was of the opinion that it would be unacceptable to ideologize and politicize any form of organizing associated labor, including the basic associated labor organization, and warned that work organizations are not any better equipped to successfully assume the role of the main subject. Zarkovic also supported calls for the reaffirmation of the role of managing organs.

Franc Setinc stressed that one could not be indifferent as to whether basic organizations are abolished or not. He said that the workers must be able to make decisions and manage in a rounded, logical, technological-productive unit. But can they do this in collectives employing several thousands of workers if these have no basic organizations?

Decisionmaking As a Whole [subhead]

Setinc warned that it is not sufficient to blame communes for the present situation. We must respect the fact that the commune is not only a sociopolitical but also self-managing community and that it has great responsibility foritme development of economic and other infrastructures.

The LC should involve itself more with ideopolitical questions and should not play the role of an arbitrator in organizational matters, Djordje Stojsic said. In his view the draft stands search for the way out of the crisis in only one direction, in revising socioeconomic relations and decisionmaking regarding the entirety of the basic associated labor organizations' revenue.

In his opinion, proceeding from the justified criticism of voluntarism, the session documents go to another extreme and see efficiency in the strengthening of business and entrepreneurial functions which could, without the necessary social direction, turn into a technocratic control of income. People are forgetting the fact that the worker is indifferent as to whether it is the state or the techno-managerial stratum that are usurping his right to manage the income.

The call for the economic independence of associated labor organizations, Milanko Renovica said, implies their full independence to organize themselves into those forms that are more suited to their interests, motives, and conditions for our and the world market's modern and dynamic development. He was of the opinion that nobody should act as an arbiter, neither the LC nor the Trade Union Organization. Renovica said that we must rid ourselves of absolutism, politicization, pressures, schemes and various formulas, and prescription as to what the associated labor organization is, and what elements it consists of.

Renovica was also in favor of the need to reaffirm the role of the workers councils, but said that a clear distinction must be made between the role of self-managing and managing organs. He warned that the justified striving for the stronger managing organs should not turn into the creation of a special stratum of technocrats and bureaucrats in the economy who would be developing on the capitalist countries model.

Dusan Ckrebic pointed to the marginal role of the banks. Having said that, their present role of serving the economy should be reexamined, because, judged by the Agrokomerc example alone, it has "crashed." Supporting the view on the need for making economic entities more independent, Ckebic said that all bad investments made up to now, every mistake, has been linked to the LC. At one time the banks were full of the presidents of communes and committees, who promoted their investment projects, and their siege of banks became a kind of absurdity regarding the responsibility of economic entities for their decisionmaking. Now we must separate the LC from this, even physically if necessary.

Fear of Technocracy [subhead]

Having stressed that the aim of the policy makers was to give up prescribing the rigid forms of organization, Dr

Branimir Ivanovic said that it was a matter for the working people to choose the form of organization themselves. He stressed that the thesis that a work organization is the only market entity does not hold true. Every form of organization is a market entity, every form of organization must value its work in the market and in market conditions.

In a society in which the means of production are socially owned, the question of return and entrepreneurialship is a question of our attitudes toward social ownership, Slobodan Milosevic pointed out. He said that the fact that our accumulation has been reduced to the so-called remainder of our income is one of the reasons why we in fact do not have accumulation and why our development has stopped. And we are talking about linking personal incomes to accumulation.

According to Milosevic, the fear of educated people and experts toward technocracy is only a hindering factor in the development. One must say this because many things are being manipulated in connection with the so-called technocracy. Without strong reliance on highly professional way of performing duties and on experts in general, we cannot overcome the crisis.

Having mentioned that some terms must be made more precise, Bosko Krunic, said that we are in favor of radical changes for the modern organization of associated labor but that we need to avoid all the confusion which the terms can cause. Krunic also said that the assertion that a commune with its regulations and its dominant role in the implementation of laws is some kind of bone of contention, did not hold true. Its constitutional position is that it carries out federal, republican, provincial, as well as associated labor laws. Krunic expressed reservation toward the view contained in the session documents that a referendum in collectives should be reduced to the question of legal positions, as well as reservation toward the view that perhaps one should strive toward the abolition of referendums.

Continuing its work, the Presidium adopted its stands on topical LC tasks regarding the development of the delegates' assembly system, a subject discussed at the previous session. These stands will help the members of the LCY Presidium during their discussion on constitutional amendments in other countries' institutions.

The Presidium also reviewed the report on the activities on the realization of stands adopted at the 24th session of the LCY Central Committee on ideopolitical matters regarding the realization of the constitutional position of workers' management and control of income, and the means of social reproduction.

[The following section appears boxed within the body of the item]

Ownership [subhead]

The question of social ownership was also raised during the discussion. It was said among other things that this very important segment of stabilization was treated in constitutional amendments below the level of the (earlier adopted) stands of the LCY Central Committee Presidium which is why it was thought that they should be updated in the draft conclusions that are being prepared for the LCY Central Committee Conference.

It was also said that otherwise clear stands of the LCY Central Committee on ownership did not reach the public, in other words that very little is known about them in the republics and provinces and among officials and businessmen. [end of boxed section]

LCY Central Committee To Meet 11 May

LD281722 Belgrade TANJUG domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Apr (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee Presidium today decided that the 14th session of the LCY Central Committee should be held on 11 May. The highest party forum will discuss topical ideopolitical questions of the realization of the economic policy.

The Central Committee will also discuss the further development of self-managing organizing and decision-making in associated labor, on which special conclusions should be adopted.

BORBA Scores Income, Taxation Policy

AU281832 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Apr 88 p 2

[Slobodanka Bakic commentary: "A Free Play of Transfer"]

[Text] Recently two, apparently completely unrelated reports, have echoed from the far corners of the world. Shortly before the publication of the federal government proposals following the long 6-month reign of the intervention laws, it became known that no less than the owner of the Empire State Building was arrested in the United States for false bookkeeping and tax evasion. It so happens that while the government of our self-managing community takes care of our economic situation, freezing and unfreezing prices and personal incomes, the Americans, who consider themselves the most democratic country in the world, arrest even billionaires for every cent of unpaid taxes. This is no joke in either case. And how are they connected?

It has now clearly been said that the new package of measures partly releases prices, but not personal incomes. Regardless of whether the planned inflation rate of only 90 percent is adhered to, personal incomes will be frozen from this January to December at 119 percent. This means nothing else but that the government, deficient as it is in many specific measures to reduce inflation to the target rate, takes full care of

personal incomes, which is to say that it has decided that the working strata alone should carry the entire burden of stabilization. Has economic policy been harmonized with the prevailing interest of the workers class in this case? The question is not naive at all, because the success of any policy as a rule depends on the answer to this question.

When all this is taken into consideration, it should be said at once that the proposed liberalization of economic categories (liberalization of prices, liberalization of imports, and the like) is not in question. Indeed, prices are the sum total of economic trends, and it may be remarked that the matter of prices has not been finished. It may also be asked which prices are in question, which products are concerned, where funds to compensate producers for prices that will not be unfrozen will come from, and the like.

At the same time when these measures of complete labor control are taken in the name of combating inflation, inflation continues to be blown up by printing money regardless of aggregate supply and by other moves without seriously calculating whether associated labor and workers will be able to pay for all this. What is current in our country is the free play of transfer (known in economics under the name of "contraband" ["kontrabanda"]) in which the burden of inflation is transferred, for the sake of social peace, to the broad strata of workers. The question is to what extent this argument holds water and to what extent it does not, and the answer is being provided in front of our eyes through various forms of growing workers dissatisfaction.

It is not disputable at all that every country is interested in social peace. It should be seen what is being done in other modern states, in contrast to ours which builds social peace on the backs of the workers under unspecified conditions. As is known, other states as a rule use taxation policy as an instrument that counteracts social tensions by taking away a larger proportion of unearned profits, and by progressively taxing any profit that exceeds the limit of social and political toleration in a given community.

In our case, however, the taxation policy is still oppressed by ideological arrogance which is, as a rule, accompanied by inferior business performance. We still do not count on the vast capital that our workers hold on deposit with foreign banks, because we struggle with questions of ideological borders of small business development and the private sector, and in general of cooperation of private people and associated labor and conflicts about the investment by foreign partners. Unfortunately, there are no serious data on private property in our country and on its earnings, through interest payments and mark-ups, not to speak of proper taxes on them. Bettino Craxi in his time solved many problems in neighboring Italy through introducing a strict control of earnings and precise lists of taxed real estate. The arrest of a multibillionaire in the United States shows a system which tolerates tremendous social differences, but keeps them within the limits of political tolerance through strictly applied taxes that fill the state coffers and that also provide the driving power for the conduct of economic policy.

It would indeed be worth calculating what the cost is, for instance, of the army of administrative officials who control the personal income freeze in sociopolitical communities. There is a well-founded suspicion that these costs are higher than the effects achieved through pay control. In a policy that strives to revive a market economy, it must not be forgotten that the volume and the price of labor are also elements of the market. The effect of the present measures of strict control of labor earnings is rather a moot point. Pressed by excessive administration, the economy has lost its natural scope to reward success, which is also expressed through a corresponding level of personal incomes. The new measures continue to neglect this by ordering personal incomes above the frozen ceiling be increased only by the most profitable enterprises, but the question of profitability remains primarily a question of the position in which the state has placed a certain activity or branch of industry.

In these difficult times, the tremendous potential lying outside personal incomes, which could serve economic and political stabilization to a tremendous extent, remains undetermined, unrestricted, and uncontrolled, and it continues to produce new billionaires, while the economy and the workers continue to get poorer.

Siroka Addresses Slovene LC Conference

LD231516 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1059 GMT 23 Apr 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Apr (TANJUG)—The LCY and the LC's in the republics and provinces have decided to hold their conferences at a time when we are in no easy position. The conferences are expected to outline the way out of the crisis, to open up prospects and to ensure that what we agree upon is implemented in a uniform manner, Kolj Siroka, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said in his greetings address to the Slovene LC conference.

A discussion on "socialism that suits people," in Kolj Siroka's view, reflects a desire and willingness on the part of the Slovene LC to take an investigative and sensible part in the efforts to pave the way for more comprehensive and fuller self-management, for enriching people's life and work in all their aspects.

"The LC, as the working class ideological force, has the task to find out, specify, analyze, and provide a clear answer to why its capacity to direct and mobilize all creative potentials for material and social development has been reduced. We have to find out why congress decisions are not being implemented although they were adopted unanimously. We have to draw a more realistic picture of current ideo-political and socio-economic

problems and to direct our efforts primarily toward finding the way out of the crisis on the basis of democratic development and through enhancing the relations of self-management, the federal system, and the LC'S ideo-political role and responsibility. Above all, the LC must take a more active part within the Socialist Alliance as a front of the working people and organized socialist forces."

At the LCY Conference our task is to achieve a synthesis of all which is common to us and, which combines us into our socialist Yugoslavia and which represents an immediate prospect and future for our working people, nations and nationalities, and, in particular, the young generations, Kolj Siroka went on to say. What we need is an open dialogue within society but without factions. We must, in a uncompromising way, resolve all dilemmas and come up with ideas which will lead to fresh, better, and generally acceptable specific solutions. The socio-economic and even the political crisis, which in some areas of everyday life is assuming serious dimensions because we still spend more than we create, obliges ut to continue to develop in our particular revolutionary direction and to enhance the practice of constructive self-criticism and fair criticism...

"No one in our socialist self-managing community can develop on his own or occupy an exclusive position in society—a position which does not suit the interests of our overall development. By the same token, our entire community cannot develop if its constituent parts stagnate".

Siroka rejected the criticism and pressures from some circles who promote ideas and views to the effect that the situation in the country could be swiftly regulated but without the LC and by introducing various forms of majority vote, etc. This does not suit our system. These ideas are destructive and in fact pose a serious threat to socialist, self-managing Yugoslavia. The LC must counter such tendencies and pressures more energetically and with a clear and positive ideo-political platform.

"We must clearly and publicly say no to those internal and external elements who cherish any kind of ambition toward our country and call for it to be rearranged from top to bottom, why deny the existence of some nations and promote retrograde solutions for the status of nationalities, who disseminate hatred and intolerance, threaten brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities and by implication all that has resulted from our socialist revolution which needs to be defended and constantly developed. There must be no ideological confusion in the LC as regards this issue or any kind of flirtation or coexistence with regressive ideas". Kolj Siroka went on to say that the LC's priority task is to return to its class and its interests. The LC must critically examine itself, it must resolve the unfavorable state of affairs in its own ranks and leaderships. In Siroka's view, the LC must eliminate the problems and manifestations of disunity in the LCY, of one-sided and extreme interpretations of the nature of the relationship between the whole and its parts in the course of implementing the principle of democratic centralism, democratization must replace bureaucratisation within the LC which has to rid itself also of inconsistency and narrowness in cadre policy, etc.

"A halt in the development of self-management, the LC's lack of effective action, the difficult economic situation and growing social differences and attacks on the achievements of the revolution have reflected in deteriorating personal and intra-national relations and pressures from nationalist positions.

All this has weakened the cohesion of our Yugoslav community and its defense capacity. The Slovene LC Central Committee discussed the attacks on the system of all-people's defense and the role of the Yugoslav People's Army and after explaining their nature decided to take a consistent ideo-political action against them."

Kolj Siroka said that we are aware of what nationalists of all hues have to offer and where nationalism, which today has become the point rallying for the opponents of self-managing socialist yugoslavia, can lead us. One of the priority tasks at the moment is to ensure that in their joint struggle against nationalism, all the sections of the LCY and its organizations rid themselves of this evil and publicly name its advocates.

People's Army LC Committee Discusses Tasks

AU241554 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No. 2544 14 Apr 88 pp 1,3

[Novica Pesic report: "Firm Reserve Echelon of the Armed Forces"]

[Text] In the middle of last week in the Belgrade Army Hall, the members of the LCY Organization Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] had an interesting discussion about current ideological questions of training the reserve forces and about the tasks of the Communists, and the LC organizations and organs. The high party gathering was chaired by Simeon Buncic, secretary of the Committee Presidium, and the opening speech was submitted by Teodor Troha. The committee also discussed the activities of the LCY Organization in the YPA in connection with the theses for the preparation of the LCY Conference and adopted a program of celebrations to mark the 40th anniversary of the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the 30th anniversary of the LCY program. At the conclusion of the session, Nebojsa Tica was elected member of the Committee Presidium, and Drago Vukosavljevic and Sadik Muljaj were elected members of the Commission for Statute Questions.

War-time units of the Armed Forces in our country, as well as in other countries in the world, are mostly made up of reserve officers and men. This is a reality that

imposes obligations and responsibility on the Communists and LC organizations in the commands and staffs, so that they may constantly watch over the combat training, strengthening of the moral-political unity, and political-party work of those men who are outside the barracks all over Yugoslavia. At a time of a crisis, the obligations in performing these tasks increase manifold, although there have been signs of relaxation on the world scene. It is more and more obvious, however, that the special war against Yugoslavia does not cease, and it is conducted in collusion between foreign and internal enemies.

"It is obvious that the campaign intensively waged against our society and defense system lately aims at destroying Yugoslavia and its Army as a very important factor in protecting the unity and independence of the SFRY," Teodor Troha stressed at the beginning of his introductory speech. "Emigre press and other media inspired by hostility are particularly intensive in their writings, and a premeditated effort to influence a weakening of our defense capabilities is made through them. Particular concern is caused by articles in a part of our youth press, for they influence our young generation. It is obvious that a part of these articles is inspired and turned in a hostile way. What also causes concern is the opportunistic attitude toward this problem by individuals, and even leaderships of the LC organizations. The measures taken to date so that subjective forces fight more resolutely and that take a clear position on these phenomena have not yielded any significant results. The aims and the intentions of those who inspire and propagate these activities should be unmasked," Troha concluded.

Such an attitude toward the fundamental values of Yugoslavia during the high tide of economic, political, and social problems has a multiple negative effect on every one of our people. Considering that a way out of the economic crisis has not yet been found, these problems may influence a deterioration of the moral-political unity and situation in the war-time units and the entire reserve personnel. The members of the committee believe that this will nevertheless not occur if the Communists and LC leaderships find and apply more suitable solutions and if, through ongoing efficient and energetic action, they eliminate everything that undermines the unity and stability of the country as an equal community of all the peoples and nationalities.

Wishing to make its contribution in this direction, the Committee of the LCY Organization in the YPA, discussing the current problems in training the reserve personnel for their role in war-time units, proceeded from training as a basic prerequisite for combat readiness and preparedness. This is logical when one knows the extent of the peace-time reduction of the YPA within the implementation of the all-people's defense concept, the level of modernization of the armed forces, the rapid social and technological and equipment changes, the introduction of modern combat systems, armaments, and equipment, as well as the development of doctrine and military art.

Even in this completely changed situation, there is a uniform assessment: The training and building of the reserve detachments of the war-time armed forces are at a satisfactory level. More simply one could say that the difference between the level of training of the peace-time units and some war-time units and commands is constantly decreasing. The skills of the reserve personnel in handling armaments and equipment, and the ability of the commands to carry out mobilization and other combat actions and procedures have considerably improved.

Exercises Useful—They Should Be Modified [subhead]

Although such a general assessment was especially stressed, it was only a starting point for the committee members, who tried to examine problems and propose specific solutions. One of the most important is certainly the professional military ability of the reserve officers, which is said to be much better; the majority of the officers are able to carry out their tasks successfully within their duties, but all the opportunities have not been exploited.

Reserve officers and soldiers obtain their best and most lasting skills during exercises. It seems, however, that this practical training will be changed in some respects so that it meets the conditions of the present time. For instance, training for the several duties at joint tactical exercises will be "more condensed" by calling up and training various specialities successively, and units will be formed a few days before the main assignment is carried out. This type of training lower tactical units has been successfully implemented by area structure units [jedinice prostorne strukture] of the territorial defense and it has been shown to be good, for it yields better results and makes maximum economies possible.

There will also be changes in calling up reserve officers. It has been the practice to call them up a few days before the soldiers. Experience shows that this has been rather unpopular among this personnel and it has been expensive and uneconomical. Solutions are sought within general military and special professional training in units or in the reserve officers organization, particularly since organized training of reserve officers in the afternoons after work, according to some indications, is much more [word illegible], useful, and economical.

All-day training on off days has been patiently checked so as to find out what should be improved. Practice indicates that instead of generalized and often uninteresting subjects, one should adopt applied methods acceptable to almost all reserve personnel. This means target practice with personal weapons and with squad and platoon weapons, learning about and training in how

to handle new equipment and personal protection means, and political information provided by sociopolitical workers of the local territory where the reservists gather....

The commands of units and peace-time core units [mirnodopska jezgra] will take more care than before so that the training during exercises and the so-called day calls of reserve soldiers and officers is even more useful. The training of "reservists" will be paramount for them during those times. Unnecessary verbalism and monologue by those conducting training will be replaced by the active participation of the reservists in solving specific problems and tasks (tactical, fire practice, and staff exercises).

Motivation for Duties in a War-Time Unit [subhead]

The committee assesses that the reserve personnel chiefly manifested ideopolitical unity, high consciousness, motivation, devotion, and responsibility in performing their tasks during exercises and other forms of training. At such gatherings, the collective quickly organize their life and this provides the keynote for the building of healthy comradely relations under any circumstances. It is natural that the Communists are in the vanguard of all the actions. This is understandable because about 85 percent of reserve officers, and about 65 noncommissioned reserve officers are Communists.

The two basic virtues of the reserve personnel are a correct attitude toward the basic values of our society and political maturity. This may be concluded on the basis of the response to exercises and to training on days off, this response exceeding 90 percent. However, many factors may influence a fall in the response. They arise primarily from unfavorable economic and political trends in the country (falling standard of living, social stratification, large unemployment, activities by counterrevolutionary forces...).

Large migratory movements is some regions and in large towns also have a considerable influence on the response those called up. This demands that records should be up to date and that the cadres of war-time units should be more frequently checked and replaced, which makes training that is conducted in cycles more complex, but also creates other problems, especially in achieving mobilization readiness of units and institutions.

Although the objective circumstances are sometimes an obstacle to improving the quality of the training of the reserves, it may be said with confidence that the motivation of reserve officers and men for duties in war-time units is quite satisfactory. This indeed does not mean that further work on eliminating all the shortcomings, and particularly the subjective ones, need not continue. Irresponsibility is still shown by some officers and commands [words illegible] of their units; time is used inappropriately and uneconomically for collective, professional, and methodical preparations of the trainers; the time set for training at military exercises of war-time units and commands is not adhered to, and the full programs are not fulfilled; there is poor organization and insufficient readiness for exercises....

Only the Best to Reserve Officers Schools [subhead]

It is generally assesed that the present system of training officers in reserve officers schools and of field practice, as it thought out and set in regulations, suits the conditions and possibilities of our armed forces and society. It also fully reflects the sociopolitical and class precepts of our self-managing socialist system. However, the question is justly posed whether the admission to reserve officers schools on completion of secondary education produces positive results or not. This must be studied in depth and proposals must be made on the basis of findings, members of the LCY Organization Committee in the YPA concluded.

The question demands an answer regardless of the fact that a majority of reserve officers complete the schooling well and are prepared to perform basic duties in war-time units. However, since both more and better is desired, this problem should be comprehensively examined, especially because reserve officers schools accept young people who are insufficiently ideopolitically equipped and educationally and professionally formed, and who lack appropriate social affirmation in their local community. For these youths, programs and curricula in the schools are most frequently too demanding and difficult, particularly for those (and there are many of them) who lack sufficient knowledge of recent history, sociology, and Marxist philosophy, the SFRY geography, and often also the language.

Once they have served their military service, the process of training of reserve officers is interrupted for a certain time. More precisely, their training is reduced merely to the program of the Federation of Reserve Officers organizations. This certainly cannot meet their needs, considering that it is precisely at that time that the reserve officers are assigned to their initial duties in war-time units. Therefore opportunities are sought and found for continuing their training at courses in military schools, which have been producing good results. The training in war-time unit commands has also been shown to be good and useful, but some points connected with tactical tasks should be improved, because tasks are most often set on the initial deployment of a war-time unit and less frequently on tactical situations which would develop individual involvement and initiative by reserve officers.

The training of the reserve officers also suffers from so-called subjective shortcomings. Communists believe that therefore one should pay much more attention to the selection of candidates for reserve officers, especially reserve non-commissioned officers to whom little attention has been paid in national defense organs and other sociopolitical bodies. The commands of war-time units until recently did not participate in the planning and

replacement of this class of reserve officers. The members of the committee believe that the sociopolitical organizations (the Socialist Youth Federation, the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation, the LC, and the SAWP), as well as the communes and local communities, should also pay much more attention to the selection of candidates for reserve officers schools.

Personal predilection and the attitude of recruits also affect the selection of candidates to a considerable degree. Many of them are wrongly informed or are burdened by what they know about the place and the role of reserve officers school cadets at the schools and in the units, and about the obligations of reserve officers, and they do not decide for this calling easily although they possess the necessary qualities. The remoteness of the schools, the volume of the matter to be learned, the social prestige of the service, the arm, or the branch, the insufficient valuation of the reserve officers work in the Reserve Officers Federation and in the war-time units, and so forth. This work is also insufficiently valued in the community where a man lives and works, in sociopolitical organizations, local communities, and communes.

Bearing all this in mind, a coordinated activity of all sociopolitical subjects in the communes and war-time units will be launched for an improvement in the selection of candidates and for popularizing and affirming the status of reserve officers. More will also be done in the ideopolitical preparation of potential candidates for reserve officers schools and for a comprehensive analysis of the present system of schooling and of providing incentives to cadets, because the problem of selection was also the result of the length of service of reserve officers schools cadets being made the same as that of soldiers.

Communists Most Responsible for the Quality of Reserve Cadres [subhead]

The LCY Organization in the YPA and the Communists in the Armed Forces are most responsible for the overall combat building of the YPA and the Armed Forces in general, and thus also for a trained war-time army, for an efficient resistance to a potential aggressor, for preventing destructive activities by internal enemies, and for a successful all-people's defense war. This is one of the conclusions of the committee members.

It is expected that the first to implement this position will be the Communists in the leading and commanding organs, who also have the most important task in training the reserve cadres and who directly perform professional activities in training and educating those subject to military duties. They should analyze incessantly and in a comprehensive critical way the existing systemic provisions and should find new ways, contents, and methods for training "reservists" in a way that will be more suitable for the present requirements and conditions. During the training, they should conduct an incessant struggle for an objective and principled stand in assessing how well reserve cadres have been trained and prepared, so that the quality required in the combat building of the war-time army may be achieved.

The communists must also pay attention to the training of war-time commands, particularly since modern conditions demand that it be more intensive so that the commands in general and their individual professional teams in the several special fields should be trained more quickly. The meetings of the LC organizations will examine the effect and the benefit of the existing and of new forms of training, so that it can be perceived in good time what should be changed especially in training the so-called critical specialities.

The effect of the Communists will be also be evalued on the basis of their political party work, explaining the sociopolitical situation, the problems, and difficulties, and pointing out the opportunities for getting out of the crisis. They will carry out these activities continuously in direct sociopolitical life of those subject to military duties in the communities where they live and work, and especially at exercises and applied forms of training. The tasks that face the Communists in the LCY Organization in the YPA are complex, but they can be realized because the Communists have proven themselves to be a force that fully implements the LCY Program provisions on the defense of the country, the members of the committee concluded at their 12th session.

USSR's Vorotnikov Continues Montenegro Visit

Meets With Barjovic

LD281916 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1558 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Titograd, 28 Apr (TANJUG)—Radivoje Brajovic, president of the Montenegrin Presidency, had talks in Titograd today with Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, who is heading the RSFSR delegation on an official friendly visit to our country.

In a cordial atmosphere the two sides assessed as positive the development of cooperation between Montenegro and the RSFSR within the framework of overall friendly relations between the SFRY and the USSR. Vorotnikov and Brajovic noted that long-standing economic, scientific, technical, cultural, and educational cooperation and intensive many-sided contacts between Montenegro and the RSFSR at various levels considerably contribute to overall Yugoslav-Soviet relations. They stressed that the recent visit to Yugoslavia by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, gave a powerful impetus to their further development.

It was also noted that the attained level of economic cooperation between Montenegro and the RSFSR was a solid basis for its further expansion and that possibilities for the realization of this goal could be found in a greater exploitation of modern forms of long-term cooperation, specialization, and cooperation, the setting up of joint enterprises, joint investments and performance on third markets, as well as the further expansion of structure and the ensuring of stable and balanced commodities' exchange.

An exchange of views was also carried out on topical questions concerning the internal development of the two countries. Radivoje Brajovic spoke, among other things, about the efforts exerted in Yugoslavia to resolve the problems of economic development and the activities aimed at changing the constitution and reforming the economic system.

Vitaliy Vorotnikov briefed the president of the Montenegrin Presidency on the views and activities of the USSR in connection with the topical international issues, as well as the activities aimed at achieving "perestroyka" in the USSR and results so far achieved in this field.

The talks were also attended by Viktor Maltsev, USSR ambassador to the SFRY, Vladimir Vinogradov, RSFSR minister of foreign affairs, and Dr Branko Kostic, vice president of the Montenegrin Executive Council.

Holds Talks With Assembly Leader

LD282026 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Milocer, 28 Apr (TANJUG)—Today in Budva Vuk Vukadinovic, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR of Montenegro, and Vitaliy Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, held final talks.

In the talks both sides expressed satisfaction with the carried out exchange of views, increasingly successful cooperation and agreements reached on further improvement of bilateral ties in various areas.

Special attention was paid to the realization of earlier and new initiatives for widening economic cooperation via long-term agreements on trade, organizing commercial exhibitions and consignation sales, development of industrial and scientific-production cooperation, founding joint enterprises and similar measures. Interest and readiness to improve joint work on research projects were expressed, as well as university and cultural cooperation.

The two sides established that the existing possibilities for strengthening economic, scientific-technical and other ties should be used comprehensively and to a greater extent, so that the SR of Montenegro and the RSFSR would make an even more significant contribution to the development of Yugoslav-Soviet friendship based on the application of the well-known principles of bilateral relations and cooperation.

Confers With Radovic

LD282039 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1426 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Titograd, 28 Apr (TANJUG)—Dr Miljan Radovic, president of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium and member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today had talks with Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. In a cordial and friendly conversation both sides noted that cooperation between Montenegro and the RSFSR was developing successfully within the framework of developed relations and cooperation between the SFRY and the USSR and that possibilities and mutual interests existed for its further promotion and enrichment. The principled basis of Yugoslav-Soviet relations, on which they have been successfully developing for over three decades, has been unanimously reaffirmed in the talks and documents on the occasion of the visit of Mikhail Gorabchev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Yugoslavia. Large possibilities exist within this framework for the promotion and intensification of interrepublican relations and cooperation which considerably contribute to the consolidation and further development of overall cooperation between the SFRY and the USSR.

Both sides noted that good conditions and joint interests and needs existed for the deepening and concretization of cooperation between Montenegro and the RSFSR, both on the economic plan and between cultural, scientific and other organizations and institutions.

Reports were also exchanged on the activities of the LCY and the CPSU aimed at the resolving of topical questions and problems on the domestic scene.

FRG's Bangemann Continues Visit 28 Apr

Meets Mikulic, Mojsov

LD281253 Hamburg DPA in German 1157 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Belgrade (DPA/VWD)—The Federal Government wants to help in the rescheduling part of Yugoslavia's $21 billion (35.5 billion DM) foreign debts. This assurance was given by Economics Minister Martin Bangemann Thursday at the start of a 2-day stay in Belgrade. Bangemann was opening a meeting of representatives of German and Yugoslav industry and met head of government Branko Mikulic and State President Lazar Mojsov. [passage omitted]

Discusses Economic Cooperation

LD281654 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Apr (TANJUG)—Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received Martin Bangemann, FRG minister for economics, who is attending a meeting of the Joint Committee for Economic Cooperation between the two countries.

In the talks it was assessed that cooperation between Yugoslavia and the FRG is developing successfully and that there are opportunities to improve it further, considering the interest of economic subjects and rich tradition of bilateral ties between the economies of Yugoslavia and the FRG.

Lazar Mojsov stressed that Yugoslavia was presently on the threshold of significant reforms and restructuring of the economy, with the aim not only of overcoming the economic stagnation, but also of actively joining the international labor division. This will also create conditions for wider ties with the economies of European and in particular West European countries, with which there is a high degree of economic complementarity.

Minister Bangemann said that the FRG attached great significance to stable development of the Yugoslav economy and in this context to stable and successful bilateral cooperation between the two countries. He expressed the hope that the economic reform in Yugoslavia would contribute to the economy becoming even more efficient in utilizing its own potentials and resources.

The talks were also attended by Radovan Makic, member of the Federal Executive Council, and Miodrag Trajkovic, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, as well as Hansjoerg Eiff, FRG ambassador to Yugoslavia, and Dieter Von Wuerzen, state secretary in the Ministry for Economics.

Further on Talks

LD282143 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1625 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Apr (TANJUG)—Branko Mikulic, president of the Federal Executive Council, received in Belgrade today Dr Martin Bengemann, FRG minister of the economy, and Dr Dieter von Wuerzen, state secretary in the FRG Economy Ministry. The talks were also attended by Janez Zemljaric, vice president of the FEC, and Radovan Makic, member of the FEC.

Branko Mikulic and Martin Bangemann exchanged views on bilateral cooperation between the SFRY and the FRG, relations between Yugoslavia and the EC and the activities of the two countries in connection with the rescheduling of Yugoslavia's external debt. They noted that, despite certain stagnation, economic relations between the two countries were developing successfully, but that joint efforts were needed to find suitable measures, activities and solutions which would intensify economic cooperation and raise it to a higher level. They also drew attention to a high level of trade deficit on the part of Yugoslavia, for which reason it is necessary to introduce greater balance in the commodities' exchange between the two countries.

Mikulic and Bangemann pointed out that it was very important to expand and promote relations between Yugoslavia and the EC bearing in mind the specific qualities of Yugoslavia as a European, Mediterranean and nonaligned country, as well as the need that, as such, it should be included in economic integration processes in Europe, especially in the light of creating a uniform European market in 1992. The two sides stressed that protectionism in international trade relations represented serious danger for developments in the commodities' exchange. This also required vigorous measures for the elimination of protectionism.

The FRG federal minister of economy supported Yugoslavia's request for the rescheduling of the external debt, as well as measures for the activities undertaken in this connection. Bangemann pointed out that the reforms of the economic system in which the FEC is involved, as well as the liberalization programs, represented adequate preparations for the inclusion of Yugoslavia in the European integration processes.

Mojsov Receives Council of Europe Assemblymen

LD280946 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1917 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Apr (TANJUG)—Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received a delegation of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe, which, headed by President Louis Jung, has been staying in Yugoslavia as a guest of the SFRY Assembly.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the positive development of cooperation between the SFRY Assembly and the Council of Europe and stressed their interest in further developing it.

Lazar Mojsov discussed the significance of positive trends in Europe that are contributing to further strengthening mutual confidence and understanding, and to overcoming existing divisions on the continent. In this, a great role is played by contacts between parliaments, strengthening of economic, technological, cultural, and other aspects of cooperation in which the Council of Europe has a prominent and significant place.

Marjan Rozic, SFRY Assembly president, also took part in the talks.

NOTES